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THE HISTORICITY OF THE BALJUNA COVENANT

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Among the several episodes of doubted historicity in the singular career of Činggis Qan that of the Baljuna covenant established between him and "nineteen" of his followers in the course of his struggle for supremacy over Ong Qan of the Kereyid is, perhaps, the most puzzling. No less an authority than the late Paul PÉLIOT has termed its character legendary.¹ If this is so, we must admit that the legend was not only current but widely spread within a century after the death of Činggis Qan in 1227. In fact, in 1289, only fifty-two years after the death of the latter, Sečen Qayan (1260-1294) himself, as we shall see, referred to the episode, while campaigning in Mongolia against the rebellious prince, Qaidu.² There are, moreover, even earlier references, one of which, I believe, has been hitherto unnoticed.³ I think, therefore, that the historicity of the episode must be reconsidered in the light of these and other references in primary sources of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The story of the Baljuna covenant has been told and retold by western scholars treating of early Mongolian history, some of whom based their accounts of it on primary sources, others on secondary, if not tertiary, sources, and still others on the accounts

¹ Paul PÉLIOT, "Une ville musulmane dans la Chine du Nord sous les Mongols," *JA* 211 (1927).261-279 (p. 265, n. 2). See page 362 below for the text of his remarks.

² Cf. both the biography of T'u-t'u-ha 土土哈 (Tu[γ]tuγa) in the *Yüan shih* 元史 128 (*ts'e* 40).14r2-18v2 (17r4-7) and the "Chü-jung chün-wang shih-chi pei" 句容郡王世績碑 ["Stele (in Commemoration) of the Merits of the Family of the Chün-wang of Chü-jung"] by Yü Chi 虞集 in the *Tao-yüan hsüeh-ku-lu* 道園學古錄 23 (*ts'e* 6).7r5-15r7 (9v2-5). For the translations of the respective texts see pages 400 and 409-410 below.

³ Cf. the "Chung-t'ang shih-chi" 中堂事記 ["Mémoires of the Affairs of the Chung-t'ang"] by WANG Yün 王惲 in the *Ch'iu-chien hsien-sheng ta-ch'üan wen-chi* 秋澗先生大全文集 80-82 (*ts'e* 20) (82.8v6-9r1). For the translation of the text see pages 404-405 below.

of their predecessors. Of the early accounts, those of principal interest are found in the following works: PETIS DE LA CROIX, *The History of Genghizcan the Great, First Emperor of the Antient Moguls and Tartars*,⁴ pp. 40-41; the PÈRE GAUBIL, *Histoire de Gentchiscan et de toute la dinastie des Mongous ses successeurs conquérans de la Chine; tirée de l'histoire chinoise*,⁵ p. 9; M. DEGUIGNES, *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux, &c. avant et depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu'à présent*, Tome troisième,⁶ p. 19; the PÈRE Joseph-Anne-Marie DE MOYRIAC DE MAILLA, *Histoire générale de la Chine ou annales de cet empire; traduites du Tong-kien-kang-mou*, Tome neuvième,⁷ pp. 16-17; Baron C. D'OHSSON, *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz-khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan*, Tome premier,⁸ pp. 71-72; Jacob ABBOTT, *History of Genghis Khan*,⁹ pp. 105-109; O. WOLFF, *Geschichte der Mongolen oder Tataren*,¹⁰ pp. 42-44; Henry H. HOWORTH, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century, Part I, The Mongols Proper and the Kalmuks*,¹¹ p. 59; Robert Kennaway DOUGLAS, *The Life of Jenghiz Khan*,¹² pp. 38-48; and W. BARTHOLD, "ÇINGIZ-KHÂN" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, Volume I,¹³ p. 857b.

In none of these accounts, however, is there any suggestion that the historicity of the Baljuna covenant is open to challenge. In fact there really is no critical appraisal of the episode whatever.¹⁴

⁴ London, 1722. Cf. Henri CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Volume IV, Paris, 1907-1908, p. 2766. For the original French editions, not accessible to me, cf. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 2765-2766. For the Italian translation cf. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, cols. 2767-2768.

⁵ Paris, 1739. Cf. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, col. 2767.

⁶ Paris, 1757. Cf. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, cols. 2767-2768.

⁷ Paris, 1779. Cf. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, Volume I, Paris, 1904, cols. 583-585.

⁸ La Haye et Amsterdam, 1834. Cf. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, Volume IV, cols. 2777-2778. For the same account in the first edition of "Tome premier" (in two parts) cf. *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz-khan jusqu'à Timour-Lanc*, Paris, 1824, cols. 50-52.

⁹ New York, 1860. (Between pages 106 and 107 there is an engraving entitled "Drinking the Bitter Waters.") Cf. also the second edition in the *Makers of History* series, New York and London, 1888, pp. 105-109.

¹⁰ Breslau, 1872. Cf. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, col. 2777.

¹¹ London, 1876. Cf. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, cols. 2773-2774.

¹² London, 1877. Cf. CORDIER, *op. cit.*, col. 2774.

¹³ A-D, Leyden-London, 1913, pp. 856a-862a.

¹⁴ Occasionally, however, there are comments on the name and location of Baljuna. Cf., e.g., D'OHSSON, *op. cit.*, p. 72, n. 1.

Yet, this is not strange when we recall that the *Mongγol-un niuča* [= *ni'uča*] *to*[*b*]čā'an or the *Secret History of the Mongols*,¹⁵ the capital Mongolian source for the life of Činggis Qan, in which there is no mention of the Baljuna covenant, was unknown to western scholarship until the time when the abridged Chinese translation¹⁶ of the Mongolian original in Chinese transcription was translated into Russian and published under the title of Старинное Монгольское сказание о Чингисханѣ [*Old Mongolian Story About Čingiskhan*] by the brilliant Archimandrite Palladii¹⁷ in the Труды членовъ Россійской Духовной Миссіи въ Пекинѣ [*Works of the Members of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking*] 4 (1866) .1-258. It is in note 337 on pages 210-212 of the *Old Mongolian Story* that the Arch. Palladii formulated, relative to the passage on page 96 of his translation, wherein it is told how Činggis Qahan went to the Kelüren River from Lake Baljuna, the first critical remarks in a western language on the Baljuna episode. The note in question reads as follows:

In such a manner, observes Ss., Čingiskhan did not drink with his fellow-champions, the muddy water of *Balčžuna*. Ss. calls this account of the history false and tries to refute it. The history says that with Čingiskhan nineteen men drank the water; Ss. found the names of fourteen of them, mentioned in the stories. He admits only—however, not without reserves—the account in the biography of *Cžabar*-[211]*Khočze* (Cz. 120, 6 and 7): « Čingis fled from *Van khan*; upon arrival at the *Ban'čžuna* river, his provisions were used up; it happened that from the north a wild horse ran up; *Khasar* brought it down; from its skin they made a kettle; with a stone they got fire, from the river—water; boiled the flesh of the horse and ate it. Čingiskhan, raising [his] hand toward the sky, so swore: « If I finish the great matter, then I shall share with them (the fellow-champions) the sweet and the bitter; if I break my words, then let me be as the water of the river. » The chiefs were touched and wept.[...] Ss. observes rightly that Čingiskhan, having overcome *Van khan*, was not driven to the last extremity. However, this circumstance, as also many others, belongs to the special source of traditions, differing from the *Yučmš*. « The drinking of the muddy water, » serves as a laudatory title in the biogra-

¹⁵ The Mongolian text in Chinese transcription is accessible in two editions: (1) YEH Te-hui 葉德輝, *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 元朝秘史, 1908, and (2) Commercial Press, *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* (photolithographic edition), 1936.

¹⁶ For a thorough discussion of questions pertaining to this translation cf. William HUNG, "The Transmission of the Book Known as *The Secret History of the Mongols*," *HJAS* 14 (1951) 433-492.

¹⁷ Cf. John C. FERGUSON, "Palladius," *China Journal* 11 (1929) 173-177.

phies of the fellow-champions of Čingiskhan; about it speaks *Khubilai* (v. Bcz.); Ss. cites the verses of one poet, composed on that occasion: «Formerly there were champions, who had set up a throne; with great labor they opened a way through the thorns; swearing, they drank from the dirty river (water).» *Balčžuna*, according to Ss., is the Kerulun, as is said in the biography of *Syuebutai* (cz. 122, 10); there Čingiskhan established [his] residence, i. e., [his] *orda* (right there). Ss. supposes that it was on the north shore of the Kerulun, from *Gorcin'nor* to the east, in the Čečen'khan territory, in the land of *Čžalaknor gin' čžabu*; there even now is a rampart called *Balasykutul myao* (*myao*: a Chinese word, means temple). The eastern *orda* of Čingiskhan, in my [212] opinion, must be sought in the lower reaches of the Kerulun, on the southern side of it, there where the viceroy of Čingiskhan resided, at the time of his expedition to the west, his brother *Otčigin'* (v. the travels of *Čan čun'*).

As to "Ss.," it is an abbreviation used by the Arch. Palladii for "Syui sun" (*op. cit.*, p. [162]), i. e., Hsü Sung 徐松 (1781-1848),¹⁸ the well-known historian and geographer, whose *Hsi-yü shui-tao chi* 西域水道記 is a monument of scholarship.¹⁹ On page 12 of the *Old Mongolian Story* the Arch. Palladii observed:

In recent years, *Syui sun*, the author of the important work *Si yüi sui dao czi* or about the water systems of the Western Region, by the nature of his preferable (= main) occupations, drew careful attention to the *Yuan' čao mi ši*; he placed unconditional trust in the accounts of this narrative, to such a degree, that all variants, all superfluous details, concerning events in Mongolia in the time of Čingiskhan and [concerning], in general, the life of this conqueror, encountered in the generally known monuments, and expressed differently, or omitted in the *Yuan' čao mi ši*, he rejected as a distorted tradition. He intended to publish this work and prepared in the rough a multitude of notes, but did not succeed in finishing the work and died in the year 1847.

Although it is not clear whether the Arch. Palladii had access to this unpublished work of Hsü Sung or not, he did have access, to judge by note 273 on page 203 of the *Old Mongolian Story*, to Hsü Sung's own annotated copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao mi-shih*, for there he specifically says: "In a manuscript copy of the *Yučmš.*, Ss. observed that in the Mongolian text the four heroes [are] called *Dobyan' kyui luudi.*"²⁰ It would appear, therefore, that

¹⁸ For a biography by Tu Lien-chê, cf. Arthur W. HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (1644-1912), Volume I, A-O, Washington, 1943, pp. 321b-322b.

¹⁹ Cf., e. g., HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 322a.

²⁰ I. e., *dörben küllüüd*. Cf., e. g., YCPS 11 (*ts'e* 9) 21r4. Cf. also Paul PELLIEROT et Louis HAMBIS, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan, Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou*, Tome I, Leiden, 1951, pp. 340-342, n. 28.

the observations of Hsü Sung cited by the Arch. Palladii in note 337 as well as those found elsewhere in the notes to his translation are from Hsü Sung's copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao mi-shih*, for they are not found either in his *Hsi-yü shui-tao chi* or the *Hsü Hsing-po hsien-sheng hsiao-chi* 徐星伯先生小集.²¹ Hence, in lieu of the original texts of these observations of Hsü Sung, the Arch. Palladii's citations of them acquire a special importance in that they constitute, in effect, the only sources in which the observations are accessible, if not extant.

Not until the time of E. H. PARKER do we find further reference to the Baljuna covenant in Western Sinological literature. Although PARKER's remarks are of little scientific interest, I include them here for the sake of completeness.

On pages 122b-123a of "The Early Turks. (*From the CHOU SHU*)" in *The China Review* 24 (1899-1900).120-130, a translation of the monograph on the "T'u-chüeh" 突厥 or Türküt, i. e., Turks, in the *Chou shu* 周書 50 (*ts'ê* 12).1v6-8r8, PARKER rendered the words 又以五月中旬集他人水拜祭天神 (6r1): ". . . and moreover during the middle decade of the 5th moon he assembled other people, and [123] did water obeisance in worship of the Spirit of Heaven. (53)." .

In note 53 on page 129a, PARKER observed:

集他人水拜祭天神. I do not pretend to understand this. The word 祭 is here variously translated 'worship,' 'sacrifice,' 'make oblation,' (Compare *Ch. Rev.*, Vol. XX, pp. 9-10). The Mongols used to assemble and solemnly 'drink the Panshuh River' of Genghiz' birth-place on great occasions: 水河.²²

²¹ Cf., e. g., HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 322a.

²² That the text which PARKER cited from the *Chou shu* is difficult, if not corrupted, is undeniable. As it stands, however, it cannot be read as PARKER read it, for the word 水 must be taken with the first, not the second part of the sentence. The text probably should be translated as follows: "Moreover, in the middle decade of the fifth moon, he (= the *qayan*) assembled other people [at the edge of] a river (lit., 'water') and did obeisance to the Spirit of Heaven." We should, perhaps, supply 濱 ("side") or 邊 ("side") or 旁 ("side") after 水, understanding the words 水[濱 / 邊 / 旁] to be used locatively: [於] 水[濱 / 邊 / 旁].

I am indebted to my colleague and friend Professor YANG Lien-sheng for drawing my attention to the fact that the text of this passage in the *T'ung-tien* 通典 (*Shih-t'ung* 十通 ed.) 197.1068b has 以 before 水 but as Professor YANG has observed, the characters for the five words *t'a jen i shui pai chi* are rather crowded, a fact which

Later, in "Notes and Queries" in *The China Review* 25 (1900-1901). 191-198, PARKER further observed (p. 196):

Mention is made of the 'water worship' of the Turks 水拜祭天神 and the Nüchêns used to 酹自水而拜 when praying for success. So the Mongol's [*sic*] allies used to 'drink the water of the river' with their masters at Genghiz Khan's native place, on the 班朱尼 river, afterwards called the 龍古 river.

From these observations, however, it is obvious that PARKER's understanding of the nature of the Baljuna covenant was both vague and inexact.

In note 2 on page 265 of his article "Une ville musulmane dans la Chine du Nord sous les Mongols" in *JA* 211 (1927). 261-279, Paul PELLIOU, commenting on the Baljuna episode as related in the biography of Ha-san-na 哈散納 in the *Yüan shih* 122 (*ts'ê* 38). 18r8-18v7 (18r9-10), expressed himself in the following terms:

Sur cet épisode fameux de la lutte de Gengis-khan contre Ong-khan, cf. par exemple d'Ohsson, I, 71-72; PALLADIUS, dans *Trudy dukh. miss. v. Pekiné*, IV, 210-212. L'histoire a un caractère légendaire, et en fait il n'en est pas question en 1240 dans l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*. On ne sait d'ailleurs pas encore bien à quoi répond le nom de Baljuna; il apparaît aux paragraphes 182-183 de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*, mais y désigne un lac (*na'ur, nör*), et non une rivière comme dans les textes chinois à partir de la fin du XIII^e siècle.

To judge by this note in which PELLIOU, as we see, referred his reader to pages 210-212 of the Arch. Palladii's *Old Mongolian Story*, it is, I think, reasonable to conclude that he shared the opinion of Hsü Sung as to the historicity of the Baljuna covenant.

The late E. VON ZACH, taking exception to PELLIOU's remarks on the name of Baljuna, as formulated in the note which I have just quoted, made the following statement on page 46, column 1, of the *Deutsche Wacht*, April, 1929:²³

suggests that someone emended the text by inserting the character for *i*. As to *i shui*, it would mean "by [means of] water." If this should prove to be the correct emendation, then the words *i shui* would have to be construed with the second part of the sentence so that it should be translated ". . . with water did obeisance to the Spirit of Heaven."

²³ I. e., *Deutsche Wacht, Niederländisch-Indische Monatsschrift*, Herausgegeben im Auftrage des Deutschen Bundes in Niederländisch-Indien durch die N. V. Verlag der Deutschen Wacht in Batavia (printed by G. Kolff & Co., Weltevreden), 15. Jahrgang Nr. 4, April 1929, pp. 45, col. 1-46, col. 1. I am deeply indebted to Dr. J. W. DE JONG

. . . Ich will auch nicht darüber sprechen, . . . dass der im ersten Kapitel des Yüan-shih erwähnte Fluss Banjur (glückliches Ereignis) tibetisches und nicht mongolisches Sprachgut ist (Pelliot erhält auf Grund seiner phonetischen trucs Baljuna), . . .

In a note entitled "Monsieur E. von ZACH" in *TP* 26 (1929). 367-378, PELLIOU cited these remarks of VON ZACH on page 375 and added (pages 376-378):

Cette méconnaissance des données historiques et des principes phonétiques s'avère, encore plus éclatante, dans la seconde remarque de M. von Zach, quand il prétend que le nom de fleuve "Baljuna" est né de mes "trucs" phonétiques, mais qu'il faut lire "Banjur", [377] nom tibétain signifiant "événement heureux" ¹⁾. M. von Zach abuse de notre candeur. Dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, une commission de lettrés a modifié, sur l'ordre de K'ien-long, les noms propres étrangers cités dans l'*Histoire des Leao*, l'*Histoire des Kin* et l'*Histoire des Yuan* pour leur donner un sens en mandchou, en mongol, en turc ou en tibétain. Ces changements sont sans valeur, et tout le monde en tombe d'accord, sauf M. von Zach ²⁾. Ici encore, et bien qu'il s'en taise, c'est au vocabulaire de cette malencontreuse commission que M. von Zach a emprunté son "Banjur" ³⁾, aussi bien pour la forme que pour le sens ⁴⁾. Il est évidemment absurde d'imaginer que vers 1200, alors que les Mongols ne savaient encore rien du lamaïsme, un fleuve ou un marais de la Haute Mongolie ait été appelé d'un nom tibétain. Mais les orthographes de l'époque mongole ne

1) L' "événement heureux" a consisté en ce que, d'après la tradition, Gengis-khan et les quelques compagnons qui lui restaient ont failli mourir de privations!

2) Bretschneider (*Med. Researches*, I, 182) a déjà signalé que les commissaires de K'ien-long avaient transformé le Beš-baliq turc bien connu, les "Cinq villes", en *baš-böräk*, "tête + rein", et vu dans Bagdad le mandchou *falga*, "village"; tout est à l'avenant. M. von Zach n'en a pas moins restitué depuis lors les noms personnels des empereurs mongols selon les formes impossibles de cette commission (je ne retrouve pas sa note actuellement). Dans ses *Lexicogr. Beiträge*, III (1905), il reproche à Chavannes (p. 36) de n'avoir pas lu respectivement "Temur ocok", "Seleme et "Hulugur" les noms bien connus de Tämügä otčigin, Sulaïman et Hülägü, et veut (pp. 86—87) qu'on adopte "janci", "irul kun" et "jisaitai" pour ce qu'on sait très bien être *jamči*, *ärkäün* et *käsiktäi*. Il est encore retombé récemment dans des erreurs de même origine (cf. *Asia Major*, IV [1927], 381 [n° 884], 382 [° 1012], 385 [n° 1539], 388 [n° 2445]). Tel est l'"altaïste"!

3) *K'in-ting Yuan-che yü-kiai*, éd. de 1878 du Kiang-sou-chou-kiu, ch. 4, f° 3a.

4) M. von Zach l'a si bien pris à cette commission qu'il a gardé la transcription approximative "Banjur" que l'insuffisance de l'écriture ouïgouro-mongole oblige à adopter pour une expression qui, en tibétain, serait réellement *phan-gyur*. Hyacinthe Bieürin avait suivi dans ses traductions l'orthographe "réformée" de K'ien-long, et c'est ce qui explique que "Bantchour" ait passé, comme soi-disant forme du *Yuan che*, dans une note de d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, I, 72.

who, in a letter dated 9 November 1955, very graciously transmitted to me a meticulously typed copy of the complete text of VON ZACH's remarks together with the pertinent bibliographic details. VON ZACH's remarks, it should be observed, bear no title.

ramènent d'ailleurs nullement à "Banjur" ou Phan'-gyur. Le *Yuan che* original écrit Pan [班]-tchou-ni (ch. 1 et 122). On sait qu'à l'époque mongole, un -n final des transcriptions chinoises [378] (quand ce -n n'est pas un ancien -m) répond tantôt à -n et tantôt à -l des noms étrangers; "Pan-tchou-ni" est donc soit *Banjuni, soit *Baljuni. Les transcriptions plus minutieuses que celles du *Yuan che* distinguent la valeur -l en ajoutant un petit caractère 勒 lo en bas et à droite du caractère à -n final; or tel est le cas dans les § 182—183 de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*, où le nom est écrit à trois reprises Baljuna. Comme de juste, Palladius ne s'y est pas trompé, et sa traduction dans les *Trudy* de la mission russe de Pékin (IV, 95—96) donne correctement Baljuna; c'est aussi Baljuna qu'on a dans Bretschneider, *Med. Researches*, I, 269. Bāl̄jūna نالْجُونَه est la forme constante chez Rašidu-Dīn (cf. Berezin, *Trudy V.O.I.R.A.O.*, XV, à l'index, p. 188) et on la rencontre aussi chez Wassāf (cf. d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, I, 72)¹⁾. Voilà dans quelle mesure la forme Baljuna est sortie, pour reprendre l'expression courtoise de M. von Zach, de mes "trucs" phonétiques. Ces procédés de poivre aux yeux impressionnent peut-être les lecteurs de la *Deutsche Wacht*, qui n'en peuvent mais; [sic] ils ne réussiront pas ailleurs.

1) D'Ohsson et Bretschneider ont même cru retrouver le Baljuna des Mongols dans le petit lac Baljuna en Transbaikalie; mais je préfère ne pas faire état de telles identifications avant d'avoir mené à bien une étude d'ensemble sur la nomenclature géographique de la Mongolie au Moyen Age.

As PELLIOU's principal concern, in this paragraph of his reply to VON ZACH, was the refutation of the latter's etymology of the name of Baljuna, it is understandable that the question of the historicity of the Baljuna covenant was not specifically discussed. That PELLIOU had not abandoned his earlier view, however, seems evident from the fact that, in note 1 on page 377, he used the words "d'après la tradition."

Likewise, for Arthur WALEY who published *The Travels of an Alchemist, the Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang-ch'un from China to the Hindukush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan Recorded by his Disciple Li Chih-Ch'ang*²⁴ in 1931, the "legendary character" of the Baljuna covenant seemed to be undoubted, for, in reference to "Chinkai," i. e., Chen-hai 鎮海, he remarked on page 33:

... In 1203 he "drank the waters of the Baljiuna river" with Chingiz Khan and was present at the assembly on the Onon River in 1206 . . .

In note 1 on the same page he added:

The legendary character of these early episodes has already been noticed, p. 5 (note).

²⁴ In *The Broadway Travellers* series, London, 1931.

WALEY's reference, "p. 5 (note)," is to note 2 on page 5 of *The Travels of an Alchemist*, which reads as follows:

According to tradition there was a Moslem leader (Ja'afar Khoja) in the Khan's army so early as 1206; but these accounts of Chingiz's early followers are largely legendary.

In note 2 on page 52 of *Un code des Yuan*,²⁵ Paul RATCHNEVSKY remarked relative to the term 投下²⁶ (*t'ou-hsia*) which he translated "les chefs mongols":

Je n'ai pu préciser la valeur du terme 投下 *t'ou-hia*; peut-être désigne-t-il les descendants des compagnons d'armes de Čingis qui burent avec lui l'eau de la rivière Onon.

In the list of "Errata" at the end of the volume, RATCHNEVSKY registered the following correction:

P. 52, note 2. Lire: Baljuna au lieu de Onon.

The unequivocal manner in which the author of *Un code des Yuan* expressed himself would seem to indicate that, in his opinion, the historicity of the Baljuna covenant was not open to question.

In 1941 René GROSSET published *L'empire mongol (1^{re} phase)*²⁷ in the second chapter of which there is a section entitled "*Gengis-khan à la Baldjouna*" (pp. 142-145). That GROSSET, too, regarded the Baljuna covenant as legendary is clear from the following observation (p. 144) which we shall examine more closely below:²⁸

²⁵ Volume IV in the *Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises* series, Paris, 1937.

²⁶ For this term cf. ABE Takeo 安部健夫, "Gendai 'Tō-ka' no gogen-kō" 元代投下の語原考 ("De l'étymologie du mot 'T'ou Hsia' (投下) employé à la période de Yuan (元)"), *Tōyōshi-Kenkyū* 東洋史研究 3 (1938) 463-480. Cf. also Herbert SCHURMANN's review of Erich HAENISCH, *Steuergerichte der chinesischen Klöster*, etc. in *HJAS* 14 (1951) 291-306 (pp. 304-305). For the Mongolian *ayimay* of which *t'ou-hsia* was the Chinese translation cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, "Sur quelques passages de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*," *HJAS* 14 (1951) 329-403 (pp. 401-403, n. 147).

²⁷ In the *Histoire du Monde* publiée sous la direction de M. E. Cavaignac, Tome VIII³, Paris, 1941.

²⁸ See page 405 below.

L'Histoire secrète est assez sobre sur le séjour de Gengis-khan près de la Baldjouna, preuve, semble-t-il, que la légende n'était pas encore cristallisée en Mongolie même treize ans après la mort du conquérant, ce qui en rend plus sujets à la critique les échos persans ou chinois postérieurs. . . .

In *Le conquérant du monde (Vie de Gengis-khan)*²⁹ which René GROUSSET published in 1944 there is a chapter entitled "L'eau amère de la Baldjouna" (pp. 171-174). GROUSSET's treatment of the episode in this chapter, however, seems to be tempered with great reserve in that he merely remarked: "Gengis-khan,—si nous en croyons la tradition persane ultérieure,—fut un moment réduit à boire l'eau exprimée de la vase."

Later, in note 1 on pages 37-49 of the *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan, Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou*, Tome I,³⁰ Paul PELLIOU and Louis HAMBIS remarked on pages 43-44 of their discussion of the name, identification, and location of Baljuna (pp. 42-49): "La caractéristique de la rivière [44] Baljuna est l'eau bourbeuse que Gengis-khan et ses compagnons y durent boire; . . ." They further remarked (*op. cit.*, p. 44): "Ceux qui avaient bu à la rivière boueuse avec Gengis-khan demeurèrent désignés par une épithète que d'Ohsson (I, 72) a francisée en "Baldjouniens", . . ." ³¹

Although these two statements in which the words "y durent boire" and "qui avaient bu" are used without any qualification whatever would seem to indicate that PELLIOU as well as Professor HAMBIS were of the opinion that Činggis Qan drank the muddy water of the Baljuna with his companions, it is, nevertheless, difficult to ascertain from them whether PELLIOU had modified, in any substantial degree, his view relative to the historicity of the Baljuna covenant as such.

Most recently, William HUNG, discussing in his monumental article "The Transmission of the Book Known as *The Secret History of the Mongols*" in the *HJAS* 14 (1951) 433-492 the case of Chen-hai 鎮海 whose descendants said that he had participated

²⁹ Paris, 1944.

³⁰ Leiden, 1951.

³¹ This long and extremely important note raises a number of problems which lend themselves to further discussion. I shall have occasion, in this article, to touch briefly on a few of them. See notes 67, 98, 147, 185, and 258 below.

in the Baljuna covenant, evidenced his own belief in the historicity of the covenant, when he remarked (p. 484): “The *Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih* not only fails to record the name of Chên-hai anywhere, but also fails to give mention to the oath by the Baljuna. Were Chên-hai’s descendants lying? Not at all. Činggis and his few followers drank the muddy water of the Baljuna and swore never to forget one another.”

In the hope that the question of the historicity of the Baljuna covenant eventually may be conclusively resolved by a careful study of all the existing primary sources, I have, as a preliminary step toward such a study, assembled and translated the pertinent Mongolian and Chinese source materials of which I have knowledge, adding such comments and drawing such conclusions as to me seem warranted at this time.

Although it cannot be denied that the *Mongyol-un niuča* [= *nü’uča*] *to[b]č’a’an* or the *Secret History of the Mongols* is silent on the subject of the Baljuna covenant, it is, nevertheless, a fact that the episode during which the covenant was sealed is specifically related in §§182-183 and alluded to in §208. The pertinent passages read as follows:

§182 [43v] *tedüi Činggis qahan odu’ad*³² *Baljuna na’ur baču’uba tende baču’uqui-tur Čo’os Čahan Forulas jöb tende učiralduba.*³³ *tede Forulas ülü bul-yan elsen* [44r] *ireba.*³⁴ *Önggüd-ün Ala Quš Digid Quri-dača Asan Sartaγtai čahan teme’etü min-yan irges ta’užu Ergüne müren huru’u bulu-yad keremün qudaldužu abura ayisurun Baljuna usulan oroqui-tur učiraba.*

§182 [43v] And so Činggis Qahan, being departed,³⁵ pitched at Lake Baljuna. At the moment when he was pitching there, the Forulas³⁶ of Čo’os Čahan³⁷ encountered [him] even there. Those Forulas [44r], not fighting, came to submit themselves. When, from Ala Quš Digid Quri³⁸ of the Önggüd,³⁹

³² The text has *odu’al* but 勒 (-l) is an error for 惕 (-d).

³³ An earlier transcription of the YCPS had 伯 (-bai) instead of 罷 (-ba). Cf. the gloss 原作伯 (“Originally written 伯 [-bai]”) in the YCPS 6.43v5. For the significance of the later substitution cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 455, 457, 460-461.

³⁴ An earlier transcription of the YCPS had 伯 (-bei) instead of 罷 (-ba). Cf. the gloss in the YCPS 6.44r1.

³⁵ I. e., from the region east of the Tüנגge Stream where he was pitching. Cf. §177 (YCPS 6.20v-21r).

³⁶ For this tribe cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60, n. 17.

³⁷ This is the only mention of Čo’os Čahan in the *Secret History*.

³⁸ For the name *Ala Quš* (“Mottled Bird”) and the title *Digid Quri* cf., e. g., F. W. C., review of Erich HAENISCH, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, HJAS

Asan,⁴⁰ a Sartay,⁴¹ having a white camel, driving a thousand wethers, drew nigh up along the Ergüne River⁴² for to buy sables and squirrels, at the moment when he was entering to water [his wethers at] Baljuna, he encountered [Činggis Qahan].

§183 [44v] *Činggis qahan mün Baljuna usulan бүкүй-түр Qasar eme kö'ü-ben Yegü Yesüngge Tuqu-tan γurban kö'üd-iyen* [45r] *Ong Qan-tur gejü cö'en beyes nököd-iyer-iyen γarču aqa-yu'an ke'en Činggis qa'an-i erin Qara'un Jidun-u niru'ud kigürizü olun yadan yadažu širi širbüsün idejü yabu'ad Baljuna-da Činggis qahan-tur neγileba.*⁴³ . . . [46v] *tedüi Qali'udar Čaγurqan qoyar-i ile'ed Jürcedei Arqai qoyar-i alginčilažu Baljuna na'ur-ača*⁴⁴ *Činggis qahan uda'aran e'üsülčejü γarun* [47r] *morilaγsa'ar Kelüren-ü Arqal Geügi-de gürba.*⁴⁵

§183 [44v] At the moment when Činggis Qahan was watering [his beasts at] the same Baljuna, Qasar,⁴⁶ casting away unto [45r] Ong Qan⁴⁷ his wife and three sons, Yegü,⁴⁸ Yesüngge,⁴⁹ and Tuqu,⁵⁰ went out with his companions, few [in number and with nothing other than their] bodies. Saying, "[I shall seek] mine elder brother," seeking Činggis Qahan, climbing up the ridges of [Mount] Qara'un Jidun,⁵¹ not being able to find [him], being in a

12 (1949) 497-534 (pp. 527, 528, and 529). Cf. also PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 378-379, n. 33.

³⁰ Cf., e. g., PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 47, n. 1: "Les Önggüt étaient installés à l'angle Nord-Est de la grande boucle du Fleuve Jaune, . . ."

⁴⁰ I. e., Hasan. Cf., e. g., PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47, n. 1.

⁴¹ I. e., Mohammedan. As to *Sartaytai*, it literally means "having [the] Sartay [as clan]." For some of PELLIOU's remarks relative to this and other forms of the name cf. Francis Woodman CLEAVES, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 in Memory of Prince Hindu," *HJAS* 12 (1949) 1-133 (p. 101, n. 33).

⁴² I. e., the Argun. Cf., e. g., PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 46, n. 1.

⁴³ An earlier transcription of the *YCPS* had 別 (-be) instead of 罷 (-ba). Cf. the gloss in the *YCPS* 6.45r5.

⁴⁴ The text has *na'ulača*, but 刺 (-la-) is an error for 罷 (-ba).

⁴⁵ An earlier transcription of the *YCPS* had 別 (-be) instead of 罷 (-ba). Cf. the gloss in the *YCPS* 6.47r2.

⁴⁶ I. e., the younger brother of Činggis Qahan, who was also called Joči Qasar. Cf. Louis HAMBIS, *Le chapitre cvii du Yuan che, Les généalogies impériales mongoles dans l'histoire chinoise officielle de la dynastie mongole, Avec des notes supplémentaires par Paul Pelliot, Avec 71 tableaux dont 10 hors-texte*, Leiden, 1945 [= *T'oung Pao, Supplément au Vol. XXXVIII*], p. 23, n. 1. Cf. also PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-175, n. 1.

⁴⁷ I. e., To'oril Qan of the Kereyid. Cf. also PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-213, n. 10.

⁴⁸ Cf. HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 24, n. 1.

⁴⁹ Cf. HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25, n. 3.

⁵⁰ Cf. HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 25, n. 4.

⁵¹ Lit., "Black Jidun," the meaning of *Jidun* being unknown. For the word *qara'un* cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-261, n. 2.

strait, being gone, eating raw skin and sinews, he joined unto Činggis Qahan at Baljuna. . . . [46v] And so having sent both Qali'udar⁵² and Čaqurqan,⁵³ he sent [before] as spies both Jürčedei⁵⁴ and Arqai [Qasar].⁵⁵ and from Lake Baljuna Činggis Qahan, straightway, arising together with [his army], going out, [47r] by having set forth, arrived at Arqal Geügi⁵⁶ of the Kelüren [River].⁵⁷

§208 [44r] . . . *tere odču Baljuna na'ur usulara gürba je. jiči* [44v] *Baljuna na'ur-ača morilarun Jürčedei-yi alginčilažu Kereyid-tür morilažu tenggeri yažar-a güčü nemegdejü Kereyid irge maqudaqžu dauliba. . .*

§208 [44r] “. . . When that [one]⁵⁸ was departed,⁵⁹ we arrived for to water [our beasts at] Lake Baljuna. Moreover, when we set forth from [44v] Lake Baljuna, sending Jürčedei as a spy, setting forth against the Kereyid,⁶⁰ [our] might being increased by Heaven and Earth, we destroyed and spoiled the Kereyid people. . . .”

Of the Chinese sources for the history of the Mongols from their traditional origins to the year 1368, the *Yüan shih* 元史,⁶¹ of course, is the first and foremost. Its account of the Baljuna episode, which is found in 1 (*ts'e* 1).12r5-12v1, is as follows:⁶²

⁵² For the name *Qali'udar*, a derivative in *-dar* of *Qali'un* (< *Qaliyun*), meaning “The Otter” cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, “Sur quelques passages de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*,” *IJAS* 14 (1951).329-403 (p. 353).

⁵³ For the name *Čaqurqan*, a diminutive in *-qan* of *Čaqur*, cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 164, n. 13.

⁵⁴ Of the Uru'ud. For his biography cf. the *Yüan shih* 120 (*ts'e* 38).8r7-10r6 (9r2-3).

⁵⁵ For the epithet *Qasar* in the name of *Arqai Qasar* cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 174, n. 1.

⁵⁶ This name literally means the “Arqal Hook.”

⁵⁷ Cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 257, n. 25.

⁵⁸ I. e., Jürčedei.

⁵⁹ I. e., “from me, Činggis Qahan.”

⁶⁰ For a long discussion of the name and place of habitation of the Kereyid cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-209, n. 9.

⁶¹ For the *Yüan shih* cf., e. g., E. BRETSCHNEIDER, M. D., *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, Vol. I, London, 1910, pp. 180-191; RATCHNEVSKY, *op. cit.*, pp. v-vi; and HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 472. In citing the *Yüan shih* in this article I have used the *Pai-na-pen Erh-shih-ssu shih* 百衲本二十四史 edition published by the Commercial Press.

⁶² Cf. also The Monk Iakinf, История первыхъ четырехъ хановъ изъ дома Чингисова [*History of the First Four Khans of the House of Čingis*], Санктпетербургъ [Saint-Petersburg], 1829, pp. 28-29, and Dr. F. E. A. KRAUSE, *Cingis Han, Die Geschichte seines Lebens nach den chinesischen Reichsannalen*, Heidelberg, 1922 [= *Heidelberger Akten der Von-Porthheim-Stiftung* 2], pp. 23-24.

The Emperor,⁶³ having sent messengers to Wang Han 汪罕⁶⁴ (Ong Qan), immediately advanced [his] troops to capture the Ni-erh-chin 溺兒斤⁶⁵ (Nirgin), a branch of the Hung-chi-la 弘吉剌⁶⁶ (Qunggira[d]), and, having them proceed with him, reached the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River 班朱尼河.⁶⁷ The water of the River at that time was turbid. The Emperor drank it for the purpose of swearing in the band.

There was an I-ch'i-lieh 亦乞烈⁶⁸ (Ikire[s]) tribesman, Po-t'u 孛徒⁶⁹ (Botu), who had been defeated by the Huo-lu-la 火魯剌⁷⁰ (Forula[d]) tribe. Consequently he encountered the Emperor and participated in the covenant with him.

Ha-sa-erh 哈撒兒⁷¹ (Qasar) lived separately at Mount Ha-la-hun (Qara-yun) 哈刺渾山.⁷² His wife and children having been captured by Wang

⁶³ I. e., T'ai-tsu 太祖 or Činggis Qan.

⁶⁴ See note 47 above.

⁶⁵ For the Nirgin branch of the Qunggirad cf. provisionally PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 398 and 407.

⁶⁶ The text has 利 (*li*) a manifest error for 剌 (*la*). For the Qunggirad tribe cf. Paul PELLIOU, "Les formes avec et sans *q-* (*k-*) initial en turc et en mongol," *TP* 37 (1944). 73-101 (pp. 77-78, n. 1), and PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 402-409, n. 5.

⁶⁷ The *Secret History*, as we have seen, refers to Baljuna as a lake: *Baljuna na'ur* "Lake Baljuna," whereas the *Yüan shih* and other Chinese sources generally, but not always, refer to it as a river. For a long discussion of this and related questions cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-49, n. 1 ("III. La rivière, ou lac Baljuna"). In view of the remarks by PELLIOU and HAMBIS, I shall omit from this article any consideration of the problem of the identity of the lake or river in question, although I think that the question is open to further discussion.

The transcription of the name in the present text, although the commonest, is but one of several transcriptions of it in the *Yüan shih* as well as other Chinese sources. Cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-45, n. 1. It represents an original *Baljuni*, "qui s'explique mal," according to PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 43, n. 1. For my part, I regard it merely as an alternate form of *Baljuna*, a type of alternation which is not otherwise unattested in Mongolian. I cannot follow PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 45, 47, and 49, n. 1, however, when they suggest among other reasons to support the view that the primitive form of the name was *Balju* or *Baljun* that the character 尼 (*ni*) < 泥 (*ni*) ("muddy"), the latter form being, at least once, attested, and, in fact, qualifies the word 河 (*ho*) "river." While admitting that the water of the river (or lake) is frequently characterized in the sources as being "muddy" or "turbid," I believe that the inverse is true, namely that the Chinese transcribers added the water radical to the character 尼 which transcribed the final syllable *-ni* precisely because of that characterization.

⁶⁸ For this tribe cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32, n. 7.

⁶⁹ For his biography cf. the *Yüan shih* 118 (*ts'e* 37). 7r9-8v1. Cf. also PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50, n. 3.

⁷⁰ See note 36 above.

⁷¹ See note 46 above.

⁷² See note 51 above.

Han (Ong Qan), taking [his] young son, T'o-hu 脫虎⁷³ (Toqu), he fled [from Mount Qarayun]. When his provisions were exhausted, after having rummaged for birds' eggs for food, he came to meet [the others] on the bank of the River.

At that time, while Wang Han (Ong Qan) was strong and mighty, the Emperor was weak and uncertain of victory.⁷⁴ The band was rather afraid.

[12v] As for all those who drank with [him] the water of the River, they are called *yin-hun-shui* 飲渾水 ("[those who] drank the turbid water"). It means that they had once shared hardship.

Although the immediate source of this account in the *Yüan shih*, the *Wu-ch'ao shih-lu* 五朝實錄⁷⁵ [*Veritable Records of the Five Reigns*], is no longer extant, fortunately, we still have the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* 聖武親征錄⁷⁶ [*Record of the Personal Expeditions of the Holy and Martial (Emperor)*] which is the Chinese translation of the original Mongolian draft of the history of the reigns of Činggis Qan and Ögödei Qayan.⁷⁷ As such it constitutes a source for the Baljuna episode which is even earlier than that from which the account in the *Yüan shih* was drawn. In the edition of the text found in the *Hai-ning Wang Ching-an hsien-sheng i-shu* 海寧王靜安先生遺書⁷⁸ (*ts'e* 38), we read (47v5-6; 48v7; 11; 13-49r1):

His Majesty,⁷⁹ having sent messengers to Wang K'o-han 汪可汗⁸⁰ (Ong Qayan), immediately advanced [his] troops to raid and capture the Ni-erh-chin (Nirgin), a branch of the Hung-chi-la (Qunggira[d]), and, having them proceed with him, reached the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River. He drank the water and swore in the band.

At that time there was an I-ch'i-lieh (Ikire[s]) tribesman, Po-t'u (Botu), who had been pressed upon and defeated by the Huo-lu-la (Torula[d]) tribe. Consequently he encountered His Majesty and participated in the covenant.

⁷³ See note 50 above.

⁷⁴ For another example of 弱微 (*jo-wei*) in the *Yüan shih* cf. 4 (*ts'e* 2) 3r3.

⁷⁵ For these records of the reigns of Činggis Qan, Ögödei Qayan, Güyüg Qayan, Möngke Qayan, and Qubilai Qayan cf., e. g., HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 473-475; 481.

⁷⁶ For this work cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. xi-xxvii, and HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 472-473; 481.

⁷⁷ Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 481.

⁷⁸ Cf. Francis Woodman CLEAVES, "A Chancellery Practice of the Mongols in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *HJAS* 14 (1951) 493-526 (p. 498, n. 11).

⁷⁹ I. e., T'ai-tsu or Činggis Qan.

⁸⁰ See note 47 above. In the Chinese sources the transcriptions sometimes represent *Ong Qan* and sometimes, as in this instance, *Ong Qayan*.

At this time the younger brother of His Majesty, Ha-sa-erh (Qasar), lived separately at Mount Ha-la-wen Chih-tun (Qara'un Jidun) 哈刺溫只敦山.⁸¹ His family, having been captured by Wang K'o-han (Ong Qayan), he only took [his] young son, T'o-hu (Toqu), and fled. When his provisions were exhausted, after having rummaged for bird's eggs for food, he came to meet [the others] on the River bank.

We also read in the same text (50v6):

His Majesty moved the army to the Pan-chu[-ni] (Balju[ni]) River.

In the autumn there was held a great assembly (= *quriltai*) at the source of the Wo-nan 斡難 (Onan) River and [His Majesty] advanced to attack Wang K'o-han (Ong Qayan).

Although the account of the Baljuna episode in the *Yüan shih* is slightly longer than that in the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu*, because it includes observations by the historiographer, it is, in form and substance, almost word for word identical with that in the latter, so much so, in fact, that the two accounts may be regarded as but one, when we compare them with that in the *Secret History*.

It is obvious that the three accounts are in agreement in two significant respects: (1) Činggis Qan, with some of his followers, was at a lake or a river named *Baljuna*~*Baljuni* and (2) his brother Qasar, having escaped from Ong Qan of the Kereyid, succeeded in joining him there. The essential details of Qasar's flight and of the hardship he experienced in his effort to rejoin his brother are more or less identical in each of these sources with the exception that according to the account in the *Secret History* Qasar left his son named *Tuqu* (~*Toqu*) behind, whereas according to the other two accounts he took him with him. There is little else, if anything, however, in the respective accounts—that of the *Secret History* on the one hand and those of the *Yüan shih* and the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* on the other—which has any appearance of similarity.

While it is not my intention to discuss in this paper all the problems which are raised by a comparison of the account in the *Secret History* with those in the *Yüan shih* and the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu*, I shall, nevertheless, deal with several which appear to be relevant to the question of the historicity of the Baljuna covenant.

⁸¹ See note 51 above.

The silence of the *Secret History* on the Baljuna covenant is by far the most puzzling of the problems which confront us. Hsü Sung, as we have learned from the Arch. Palladii, "placed unconditional trust in the accounts" of the *Secret History*, rejecting as a "distorted tradition" anything elsewhere "expressed differently, or omitted" in the *Secret History*.⁸² Hence, he did not hesitate to regard as false the account in the *Yüan shih* that Činggis Qan drank, with his followers, the muddy water of the Baljuna River.⁸³

Such an exclusive, if not absolute concept of the credibility of the *Secret History* does not seem to have suggested itself to later Chinese scholars who, in dealing with the problem of the Baljuna covenant, did not accept the account in the *Secret History* so uncritically as their predecessor, Hsü Sung. As we follow their successive argumentation, we perceive how there gradually emerges not only a coherent formulation of the problem, but also a rational approach to its solution.

In his *Yüan shih i-wen cheng-pu* 元史譯文證補⁸⁴ [*A Verifying and Supplementing of the Yüan shih by Translated Texts*] 1 上 (ts'e 1).22v2-4, HUNG Chün 洪鈞⁸⁵ (1840-1893), who utilized among other works in western languages, those by the Russian scholar П'я Николаевич BEREZIN,⁸⁶ remarked relative to the Baljuna covenant:

The [*Yüan*] *shih* and the [*Ch'in-cheng*]-*lu* say that the drinking of the water

⁸² See p. 360 above.

⁸³ See p. 359 above.

⁸⁴ For this work cf., e. g., HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 360b and HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

⁸⁵ For a biography by TU Lien-chê, cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 360b-361b.

⁸⁶ For the "éditions et traductions de Rašidu'd-Din par Berezin" cf. Paul PELLIOU, "Sur un passage du *Cheng-wou ts'ing[sic]-tcheng lou*" in the *Ch'ing-chu Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei hsien-sheng liu-shih-wu sui lun-wen chi* 慶祝蔡元培先生六十五歲論文集 (*Studies Presented to Ts'ai Yuan P'ei on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*), Academia Sinica, Part II, by Fellows and Assistants of The National Research Institute of History and Philology, Peiping, 1935, pp. 907-938 (p. 924, n. 2). Cf. also Bertold SPULER, *Die Mongolen in Iran, Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220-1350*, Leipzig, 1939 [= *Iranische Forschungen, Band 1, Die Mongolen in Iran*], p. 465, 5. I regret that I have had no access to the pertinent translation by BEREZIN. Cf., however, A. A. SEMENOV (Editor), Рашид-ад-дин, Сборник летописей [*Rašid-ad-din, Collection of Chronicles*], Том I, Книга вторая [Tome I, Second Book], Moscow-Leningrad, 1952, pp. 126, 131, 132, 251.

and the swearing in of the band at the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River occurred after [T'ai-tsu 太祖]⁸⁷ had dispatched a messenger. The [Yüan-ch'ao] pi-shih is similar [in this respect]. Here⁸⁸ they occurred after the battle. [This] alone differs [from the others]. However, when we look at the biography⁸⁹ of Cha-pa-erh 札八兒 (Jabar) it seems that, after the battle, [T'ai-tsu] immediately reached this [place]. The [Yüan-ch'ao] pi-shih designates it as hai-tzu 海子 ("lake"). If we examine it [in] the Russian map,⁹⁰ [then we see that] within the confines of O-lo-ssu 俄羅斯 (Oros) (= Russia) north of the Wo-nan (Onan) River 幹難河 there is a Lake Pa-erh-chu-na (Baljuna) 巴兒渚納. In the Russian pronunciation it resembles Pa-le-ch'ih-no 巴勒赤諾 (Balcino). North of the Lake there is a river which is called T'u-la 圖拉 (Tura) and which enters the Yin-kuo-ta (Ingoda) River 音果達河. To judge by the Russian map, the River and the Lake are not connected. Perhaps, when the water [of the latter] swells, it runs into the River. Perhaps, nearby, there are still little streams, but the map does not indicate them. Hence, the [Yüan] shih and the [Ch'in-cheng-]lu regard it as the name of a river. Russians who have travelled this [far] say that "the area is very much wooded, suitable for summer residence, and good as a refuge from war. The Mongols still indicate that this area is the place where Ch'eng-chi-ssu Han 成吉思汗 (Činggis Qan) took refuge."⁹¹ Pa-erh-chu-na (Baljuna) is the name of a nao-erh 淖爾 (na'ur) ("lake"). The [Yüan-ch'ao] pi-shih alone [is] right.

Although he touched lightly on the question of the sequence of events—a question which, as we shall see, is of paramount pertinence—, HUNG Chün was primarily concerned with the question of geography. On page 46 of their long note on Baljuna⁹² in the *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis-khan*, PELLIOU and HAMBIS took cognizance of HUNG Chün's remarks, stating: "Hong Kiun (1A, 44) a admis qu'il s'agissait bien du lac Baljina dont on dit que sort le Tura, ajoutant que, d'après des voyageurs russes, c'est une région très boisée, propice pour passer l'été et échapper à des ennemis, et que, les indigènes disent encore que c'est là le lieu où Gengis-khan s'est réfugié." It is their conclusion, however, that his identification is not tenable.⁹³

⁸⁷ I. e., Činggis Qan.

⁸⁸ I. e., in BEREZIN's translation of Rašid al-Dīn.

⁸⁹ In the *Yüan shih* 120 (ts'e 38).6r7-8r6. See note 230 below.

⁹⁰ It is not clear to me to what Russian map HUNG Chün was referring. The problem is not discussed by PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 46, n. 1.

⁹¹ Lit., "avoided difficulties."

⁹² See notes 31 and 67 above.

⁹³ Cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 46, n. 1.

It was LI Wen-t'ien 李文田⁹⁴ (1834-1895), however, who first developed the problem of the Baljuna covenant in its several facets under the rubric “Ch'eng-chi-ssu sui-chi ch'i ch'ü. Chih Pa-le-chu-na hai-tzu hsing chu-liao” 成吉思隨郎起去。至巴勒渚納海子行住了。⁹⁵ [“Ch'eng-chi-ssu (Činggis) straightway arose and departed. Reaching Lake Pa-le-chu-na (Baljuna), he tarried (there).”] in his *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih chu* 元朝秘史注⁹⁶ 7 (*ts'e* 2). 16v9-18v7. His discussion reads as follows (16v10-18v7):

This [place] is the one which the fourth *chüan* 卷⁹⁷ calls the region of Ta-lan Pa-le-chu-t'i 答蘭巴勒主惕⁹⁸ (Dalan Baljud).

The “Pen-chi” 本紀⁹⁹ says: “The Emperor, having sent [17r] messengers to Wang Han (Ong Qan), then advanced [his] troops to capture the Ni-erh-chin (Nirgin), a branch of the Hung-chi-la 宏吉剌¹⁰⁰ (Qunggira[d]), and, having them proceed with him, reached the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River. The water of the River at that time was turbid. The Emperor drank it for the purpose of swearing in the band. [. . .] At that time, while Wang Han (Ong Qan) was strong and mighty, the Emperor was weak and uncertain of victory. The band was rather afraid. As for all those who drank with [him] the water of the River, they are called *yin-hun-shui* (‘[those who] drank the turbid water’). It means that they had once shared hardship.”

The *Pan-chu-ni* in the text of the [*Yüan*] *shih* is the corresponding sound of (= corresponds in sound to) the three characters *Pa-chu-na* 巴渚納 in the *Pi-shih*, but the *Pi-shih*, in narrating the battle between T'ai-tsu and Wang Han (Ong Qan), regards Mount Mao Wen-tu-erh (Mau [= Ma'u] Ündür) 卯溫都兒山 as very evil,¹⁰¹ [but] in the *Pa-chu-na* (Baljuna) battle he had not suffered injury.¹⁰² Only that in the fourth *chüan* of the preceding text, he fought with Cha-mu-ho 札木合¹⁰³ (Jamuya) at this place and was made to give ground and withdrew to the Che-lieh-nieh 哲列捏¹⁰⁴ (Jerene). It

⁹⁴ For a biography by Hiromu MOMOSE, cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 494a-495b.

⁹⁵ Cf. *YCPS* 6 (*ts'e* 6).44v1.

⁹⁶ For this work cf., e. g., HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 495a.

⁹⁷ Cf. *YCPS* 4 (*ts'e* 4).4v1.

⁹⁸ For Dalan Baljud cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-42, n. 1 (“II. Dalan-Baljus (ou Dalan Baljut), les “Soixante-dix Balju (ou Baljun)””). Li's statement, of course, is completely erroneous. PELLIOU and HAMBIS made no reference to Li Wen-t'ien either in their remarks on Dalan Baljus ~ Dalan Baljud (*op. cit.*, pp. 40-42, n. 1) or in those on Baljuna (*op. cit.*, pp. 42-49), n. 1.

⁹⁹ Cf. the *Yüan shih* 1 (*ts'e* 1).12a5-12v1. See also pp. 370-371 above.

¹⁰⁰ See note 66 above. In Li's text 宏 (*hung*) is a substitution for 弘 (*hung*).

¹⁰¹ Li says this, because the name *Mau* [= *Ma'u*] *Ündür* means “Bad Height.”

¹⁰² I. e., “a reverse.”

¹⁰³ Of the *Ĵajirad*. Cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28, n. 3. Cf. also the “Index,” *op. cit.*, p. 447b. Cf. the *YCPS* 4 (*ts'e* 4).4r4-4v1 for this episode.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 41, n. 1. Cf. also the *YCPS* 4 (*ts'e* 4).4v2-3 for this episode.

really was a severe defeat. Moreover, in the message in which T'ai-tsu rebuked Wang Han (Ong Qan) it is already said that it was when he was camping at the T'ung-ko-li (Tüנגgeli[g]) River 統格黎河. Now, as for T'ung-ko-li Tüנגgeli[g], it is the water that from the O-le-k'un (Orqon) River 鄂勒昆河 enters the Se-lang-ko (Selengge) River 色楞格河 and reaches the Pei-hai 北海 ("Northern Sea"). It is clear that this is evidence of the fact that, after he had been victorious over Wang Han (Ong Qan), he moved from East to West. There was hardly any cause for [his] retreating to the East and for Pa-le[-chu]-na's (Ba[ḷ]ju[na's] [17v] being a battle-ground. Is it possible that the *Yüan shih* makes the mistake of transferring the victory of Che-lieh-nieh (Jerene) to Wang Han (Ong Qan)? Moreover, he never did engage in a battle of Pa-chu-na (Ba[ḷ]juna) with Wang Han (Ong Qan). This can be ascertained from the context in the *Pi-shih*.

Coming to the battle of Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni), it appears in the *lieh-chuan* 列傳 on more than one occasion.¹⁰⁵ Hence, it is appropriate to seek to look at the whole story and discuss [it] in sequence.

In the biography of Cha-pa-erh Huo-che 札八兒火者 (Jabar Qoje) it is said:

"T'ai-tsu had a rift with Wang Han (Ong Qan) of the K'o-lieh 克烈 (Kere[yid]). One evening Wang Han (Ong Qan) came, moving his troops surreptitiously. Taken by surprise and being [entirely] unprepared for [it], the army [of T'ai-tsu] was completely routed. T'ai-tsu's followers¹⁰⁶ [were] only nineteen men [in number]. Cha-pa-erh (Jabar) was included.

"When they reached the Pan-chu-erh (Banjur) River 班珠爾河,¹⁰⁷ their provisions were entirely exhausted. [. . .] It happened that a single wild horse came northward. The prince Ha-cha-erh 哈札爾¹⁰⁸ (Qajar) shot it and killed [it]. [. . .] They drew the water of the River. They boiled and ate it.

"T'ai-tsu raised his hands and looking up at Heaven swore, saying, 'If I am able to achieve the "Great Work" (= found the empire), I shall [always] share with you men the "sweet or the bitter."¹⁰⁹ If I break this [my] word may I be like this water.'

"Among officers and men there was none who was not moved to tears."

Again, in the biography¹¹⁰ of Su-pu-t'ai 速不台 (Sübütei) it is said:

"T'ai-tsu first established [his] 'rising capital' (興都) at the Pan-chu-na (Baljuna) Lake 班朱納海,¹¹¹ which is [now known as] the Lung-chü River 龍居河."¹¹²

¹⁰⁵ Lit., "not one and enough."

¹⁰⁶ Li's citation, at this point, is abridged. The complete text reads: "T'ai-tsu straightway withdrew and fled. Those who went with [him were] only nineteen men [in number]." Cf. the *Yüan shih* 120 (*ts'e* 38).6v2-3.

¹⁰⁷ This transcription is one of those established by the "malencontreuse commission" of the Ch'ien-lung period. Cf. PELLLOT, "Monsieur E. von ZACH," p. 377. (See page 363 above.)

¹⁰⁸ For the alternation *Qajar* ~ *Qasar* cf. PELLLOT and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-175, n. 1.

¹⁰⁹ I. e., "I shall [always] be with you men for better or for worse."

¹¹⁰ In the *Yüan shih* 121 (*ts'e* 38).1r4-8v8.

¹¹¹ It is this statement which seems to have prompted T'u Chi 屠寄 (see note 147

[18r] Again, in the biography¹¹³ of T'u-t'u-ha (Tu[γ]tuγa) it is said:

"[. . .] Shih-tsu 世祖¹¹⁴ [. . .] summoned [him] to audience and comfortably instructed him, saying, 'Formerly T'ai-tsu drank [the water of] the Pan-chu (Balju[na]) River 班朱河 with those of his subjects who had shared hardships with [him] in order to commemorate [their] merits.'"

[This is] enough [for us] to see that, when T'ai-tsu engaged in the battle of Pa-chu-na (Ba[l]juna) with Wang Han (Ong Qan),¹¹⁵ it was what the royal achievement founded.¹¹⁶ The *Pi-shih* did not develop [this]. I rather suspect that it is an omission. If we base ourselves on the biography of Su-pu-t'ai (Sübūtei), then [we see that] Lake Pan-chu-na (Baljuna) was the Lung-chü River. Lung-chü ho is the corresponding sound of (= corresponds in sound to) Lu-kou ho 臚胸河. The Lu-kou River is another name for the K'o-lu-lun (Kerülün). This is Lake Hu-lun (Külün) 呼倫海子. There is no doubt. Moreover, it can be attested by the *Meng-ku yüan-liu* 蒙古源流.¹¹⁷ In the *Yüan-liu* it is said:

"When the order of the cyclical year was *wu-wu* 戊午 [1198], when he was in his thirty-seventh year of age, he dispatched a messenger to Weng Han 翁汗 (Ong Qan) of the K'o-li-yeh-t'e 克哩葉特 (Keriyed). He said, 'Previously when [We] took [to wife] the principal *ha-t'un* 哈屯 (*qatun*) Pu-erh-te 布爾德 (Börde), [We] served him (= thee) as if [he (= thou) were (= wast) Our] father. Once he (= thou) made (= madest) [Us] an offering of a coat of sables. Now We [. . .] desire that we love each other as father and son.' Weng Han (Ong Qan) did not trust [him]. Leading a multitude of the K'o-li-yeh-t'e (Keriyed), he began military operations and came forward. They met and fought in the region of Hu-lun Pei-erh 呼倫貝爾 (Külün Buyir) in the lower reaches of the O-no (Ono[n]) River 鄂諾河. [. . .] Then he defeated Weng Han (Ong Qan) and took over the multitude [18v] of the K'o-li-yeh-t'e (Keriyed)."

That which it calls K'o-li-yeh-t'e (Keriyed) is the corresponding sound of (= corresponds in sound to) K'o-lieh-i-t'i 客列亦惕 (Kereyid) in the *Pi-shih*, the principal *ha-t'un* (*qatun*) Pu-erh-te (Bürde) is [the corresponding sound of

below) to formulate the theory which was refuted by PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 48, n. 1.

¹¹² For the significance of this remark cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 47, n. 1.

¹¹³ In the *Yüan shih* 128 (*ts'e* 40).14r2-18v2. See also note 2 above.

¹¹⁴ I. e., Qubilai Qayan or Sečen Qayan (1260-1294). Cf. RATCHNEVSKY, *op. cit.*, p. XI, note 4.

¹¹⁵ See note 47 above.

¹¹⁶ I. e., "this means the founding of the royal achievement."

¹¹⁷ Cf. the *Meng-ku yüan-liu chien-cheng* 蒙古源流箋證 (8 *chüan* in 4 *ts'e*), published in 1934 with annotations (箋證) by SHEN Tseng-chih 沈曾植 and supplementary remarks (校補) by CHANG Erh-t'ien 張爾田, *chüan* 3 (*ts'e* 2).20v3-21v1. For the corresponding passage in the *Qad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobči* [The Precious Button of the Origin of the Sovereigns] cf. Isaac Jacob SCHMIDT, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses, verfasst von Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi der Ordus*, St. Petersburg, 1829, p. 86, ll. 5-12. For the German translation of the passage cf. SCHMIDT, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

(= corresponds in sound to)] Po-erh-t'ieh Wu-chen 孝兒帖兀真 (Börte Üjin), and Weng Han (Ong Qan) is [the corresponding sound of (= corresponds in sound to)] Wang Han (Ong Qan) in the *Yüan shih*. The Hu-lun Pei-erh (Külün Buyir) at the lower reaches of the O-no (Ono[n] River is Lake Hu-lun (Külün) 呼倫湖 at the lower reaches of the Wo-nan (Onan) River, which flows into the Lake Pu-i-erh (Buyir) 布伊爾湖. It also is the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River, the Pan-chu-erh (Banjur) River, the Lake Pan-chu-na (Baljuna), and the Pan-chu (Balju[na]) River in the annals and the biographies in the *Yüan shih*. Also, it is the Lake Pa-chu-na (Ba[l]juna) of the *Pi-shih*. But, when the *Yüan shih* mentions defeat, the *Pi-shih* mentions tarrying, but does not mention a battle. Only the *Yüan-liu* mentions victory in battle.¹¹⁸ There is some slight conflict. However, there is no doubt that it was the [present] Lake Hu-lun (Külün).¹¹⁹

Although LI Wen-t'ien indisputably was in error in his contention that there was a battle at Baljuna, his remarks served not only to bring the whole problem into clearer focus, but also to stimulate the thinking of his contemporary KAO Pao-ch'üan 高寶銓,¹²⁰ who proposed a more ingenious solution of the problem under the rubric "Ch'eng-chi-ssu sui-chi ch'ich'ü. Chih Pa-le-chu-na hai-tzu hsing" 成吉思隨卽起去.至巴勒渚納海子行 ["Ch'eng-chi-ssu (Činggis) straightway arose and departed. Reaching Lake Pa-le-chu-na (Baljuna) . . ."] in his *Yüan pi-shih Li chu pu-cheng* 元祕史李注補正¹²¹ [A Supplementing and Correcting of (= Notes on Reading) Li's Commentary on the *Yüan* (-ch'ao) pi-shih] 上.7r8. He expressed himself as follows:

[I] used to be puzzled by the fact that the story¹²² that, when T'ai-tsu of the *Yüan* was contending with Wang Han (Ong Qan), there was the drinking of water and the swearing in of the band at the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River appears¹²³ in the annals and biographies of the *Yüan shih* many a time, whereas the *Pi-shih*, in relating how Ch'eng-chi-ssu (Činggis) arrived at Lake Pa-le-chu-na (Baljuna), does not have this story.

Moreover, [I] used to be puzzled as to how, if he drank the water and swore in the band actually after he had withdrawn the army to the Tung-ko (Tüngge) Swamp 董哥澤, that is at the time when he was already [7v]

¹¹⁸ Cf. the *Meng-ku yüan-liu chien-cheng* 3 (ts'e 2).21r10-21v1.

¹¹⁹ For this lake, cf., e. g., PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 47, and 48.

¹²⁰ Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 495a.

¹²¹ Published in 1902. Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 495a.

¹²² Lit., "one event."

¹²³ The words 嘗怪元太祖 . . . 有 . . . 一事見於 . . . literally mean: "[I] used to be puzzled by the fact that, when T'ai-tsu of the *Yüan* . . . , there was one event that . . . and that it appears in. . . ."

victorious in battle, there were only nineteen followers and even their provisions were all exhausted.

Not until I had investigated and studied [it] backward and forward did I come to understand that the drinking of the water of the Pan-chu-ni (Bal-juni) River as told in the *Yüan shih* was what happened immediately after his being warned of the crisis and slipping away, [whereas] the arrival at Lake Pa-le-chu-na (Baljuna) as told in the *Pi-shih*, then, was what happened after he had finished battling and had returned his army. They are really two times and are not one event.

The fact is, regarding the circumstances of how T'ai-tsu took the K'o-lieh (Kere[yid]) tribe, the *Pi-shih* is complete in all the details, only that it neglected to record the episode of his swearing in the band.

It would seem that on that self-same evening, when Pa-tai 巴歹 (Badai) and Ch'i-shih-li 乞失里 (Kisili[γ]) came to inform of the plot [of Wang Han (Ong Qan) and Cha-mu-ha (Jamu-ya)], T'ai-tsu abandoned his impedimenta and fled to the East. The event took place so suddenly that there were only nineteen men who went with him. When they reached the Pan-chu-ni (Bal-juni) River, the provisions being on the point of exhaustion, they shot a wild horse to eat. Thereupon, there was an oath [on the occasion] of drinking the water.

Then they went south-eastward to Mount Sai-yin Wen-tu 賽因溫都 (Sayin Ündü[r]) which is what the *Pi shih* calls Mao Wen-tu 卯溫都 (Mau [= Ma'u] Ündü[r]) and what the *Yüan shih* calls A-lan sai 阿蘭塞 ("Alan Barrier"). Shortly afterward, the army of Wang Han (Ong Qan) arrived. Thereupon, they engaged in battle with it [in the region] north of the Hei-ho 黑河 (Black River), which is what the *Pi-shih* calls Ho-la-ho-le-chih-t'i E-lieh-t'i 合刺合勒只惕額列惕 (Qalaqaljid Eled) and what the *Yüan shih* calls Ha-lan-chen Sha-t'o 哈蘭真沙陀 (Qaläljin Sands).

After being victorious in battle, he collected his troops in the North and going up to the Wu-erh-hu (Ulqu[i]) River 爾烏虎河¹²⁴ reached Mount So-yüeh-erh-chi (Söyörgi) 索岳爾濟山.¹²⁵ Again, he went northward to Lake Pei-erh (Buyir) 貝爾池 of the K'a-erh-k'a (Qalqa) River 喀爾喀河 and subjugated a separate clan of the Hung-chi-la (Qunggira[d]). Then, returning to the K'o-lu-lun (Kerülen) River 克魯倫河 in the West, he reached his old camp on the Sang-ku-erh (Senggür) River 桑沽兒河. [The site was] [8r] what the *Pi-shih* calls the Eastern Bank of the T'ung-ko-li (Tüng-geli[g]) Stream 統格黎小河 and also what the *Yüan shih* calls the Tung-ko (Tüngge) Swamp. At this place he dispatched an envoy to bring a rebuke to Wang Han (Ong Qan) and again moved the army eastward, which is what the *Pi-shih* calls "Straightway arose and departed. Reaching Lake Pa-le-chu-na (Baljuna), . . ."

[Hence, we may] postulate that his first hiding at Mount Mao Wen-tu-erh (Mau [= Ma'u] Ündü[r]) was not only for the purpose of avoiding the enemy's morning (= fresh) sharpness (= vigor), but also for the purpose of enticing

¹²⁴ For the Ulqui or, properly, the Ulqui Silügeljid River, cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 410, n. 6.

¹²⁵ I have not identified the mountain to which Kao alludes.

him to fight far [his own territory] so as to bend him.¹²⁶ After being victorious, speedily he followed him and straightway reached the Tung-ko-li (Tüggel[g]) River—this is to build up our own morale.¹²⁷ He sent messengers to bring rebuke—that is to cause his morale¹²⁸ to deteriorate. Shortly after [the rebuke], again, he moved the army eastward—it is what is called “and when we have thus repeatedly harassed and worn it out, leading it wrong also in many ways, . . .”¹²⁹ Then, moreover, he trumped up the words of Ha-sa-erh (Qasar)—it is for the purpose of making the enemy feel puffed up and, at the same time, to spy upon the enemy. [When the messenger] returned and reported, thereby he knew that Wang Han (Ong Qan) deeply trusted [the false words] and did not suspect. He [and his staff] feasted in high spirits.¹³⁰ Thereupon, holding a stick in his mouth (= stealthily)¹³¹ he advanced rapidly. [This act] issued from their non-anticipation, that is the tactic known as being quiet¹³² like a coy virgin and launching out rapidly like an escaped hare. One sweep and the K’o-lieh (Kere[yid]) clan 克列氏 lay in waste. Since the historians do not understand geography and do not know military tactics, they go in circles¹³³ [like] a blind man [in] a darkly lacquered room and, going this way and that,¹³⁴ they stumble and become confused.¹³⁵ Their readers are stupefied thereat. As for the original commentary [by Li], in suspecting that there should have been a battle at the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River, [Li] did not know (= should have known) that the battle really was at Ha-lan-chen (Qaläljin). It is what the *Meng-ku yüan-liu* calls the lower reaches of the O-no (Ono[n]) River. That which the Hu-lun Pei-erh (Külün Buyir) [8v] territory embraces is distant and exactly points to Ha-la-le-ch’ih-t’i (Qalaqaljid).

Although KAO’s meticulous argumentation is based on the data of but two sources—the *Secret History* and the *Yüan shih*—, it is extremely convincing. In fact, when we juxtapose the data of the other two sources—the *Ch’in-cheng-lu* and the *Ĵami’ al-Ta-warikh*¹³⁶ by Rašīd al-Dīn—with that of the *Secret History* and

¹²⁶ I. e., “to put him at a disadvantage or in a tight place.”

¹²⁷ Lit., “warrior-spirit.”

¹²⁸ Lit., “ambition of the multitude.”

¹²⁹ For this citation from the *Tso chuan* cf. JAMES LEGGE, *The Chinese Classics* 5.733, l. 17, and 735, Par. 4.

¹³⁰ Lit., “placed wine and elatedly assembled.”

¹³¹ I. e., “without noise.”

¹³² Lit., “holding [one’s position].”

¹³³ Lit., “North and South, East and West.”

¹³⁴ Lit., “forward and backward, advancing and retreating.”

¹³⁵ Lit., “upside down and wrong, branch and separate,” i. e., “they split up in different directions.”

¹³⁶ For this work cf., e. g., W. BARTHOLD, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, Second Edition Translated from the Original Russian and Revised by the Author with the Assistance of H. A. R. Gibb, M. A.*, London, 1928 [= “*E. J. W. Gibb Memorial*” Series, New Series, V], pp. 44-48. Cf. also HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 475, n. 97, for other references.

the *Yüan shih*, we must acknowledge that, if they do not confirm KAO's hypothesis, they by no means disprove it.

The scholars who dealt with the problem after the time of KAO Pao-ch'üan do not seem to have taken cognizance of his discussion. Furthermore, it was the geographical facet of the problem, rather than the historical which seems primarily to have attracted their attention. Of the three whose comments I shall cite, the first is the Japanese scholar NAKA Michiyo 那珂通世 (1851-1908) whose annotated edition of the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* is found in the *Naka Michiyo isho* 那珂通世遺書¹³⁷ under the title of *Kōsei zōchū Gen Shinsei-roku* 正増注校元親征録 [*The Gen Shinsei-roku Corrected and With Additional Notes*]. His comments in lines 4-5 on page 55 consist, for the most part, of the quotation of those of HUNG Chün, which have already been cited above. They read as follows:

T'ung-shih (Michiyo) observes: The [*Yüan-ch'ao*] *pi-shih* writes Pa-le-chu-na (Baljuna) Hai-tzu. The biography¹³⁸ of Chu-ch'ih-t'ai 术赤台 (Jü[r]citei) writes Pan-chen (Baljin) Hai-tzu 班真海子.

HUNG 洪氏 says:¹³⁹ "If we examine it [in] the Russian map, [then we see that] within the confines of O-lo-ssu (Oros) (= Russia) north of the Wo-nan (Onan) River there is a Lake Pa-erh-chu-na (Baljuna). In the Russian pronunciation it resembles Pa-le-ch'ih-no (Balćino). North of the Lake there is a river which is called T'u-la (Tura) and which enters the Yin-kuo-ta (Ingoda) River. To judge by the Russian map, the River and the Lake are not connected. Perhaps, when the water [of the latter] swells, it runs into the River. Perhaps, nearby, there are still little streams, but the map does not indicate them. Hence, the [*Yüan*] *shih* and the [*Ch'in-cheng*]-*lu* regard it as the name of a river. Russians who have travelled this [far] say that 'the area is very much wooded, suitable for summer residence, and good as a refuge from war. The Mongols still indicate that this area is the place where Ch'eng-chi-ssu Han (Činggis Han) took refuge.' Pa-erh-chu-na (Baljuna) is the name of a *nao-erh* (*na'ur*). The [*Yüan-ch'ao*] *pi-shih* alone [is] right."

The further comments by NAKA Michiyo in lines 6-10 of the same page of his edition of the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* consist in part of the quotation of remarks by the Chinese scholar Ho Ch'iu-t'ao 何秋濤¹⁴⁰ (1842-1862). They read as follows:

¹³⁷ *Tōkyō*, 1915.

¹³⁸ In the *Yüan shih* 120 (*ts'e* 38).8r7-10r6.

¹³⁹ See pages 373-374 above.

¹⁴⁰ For a biography by TU Lien-chê, cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 283a-b.

[Ho] Ch'iu-t'ao observes: [According to] the biography of Cha-pa-erh (Jabar) in the *Yüan shih*:¹⁴¹

"T'ai-tsu had a rift with Wang Han (Ong Qan) of the K'o-lieh Kere[yid]. One evening Wang Han (Ong Qan) came, moving his troops surreptitiously. Taken by surprise and being [entirely] unprepared for [it], the army [of T'ai-tsu] was completely routed. T'ai-tsu straightway fled. Those who went with him were only nineteen men [in number]. Cha-pa-erh (Jabar) was included.

"When they reached the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River 班朱尼河, their provisions were entirely exhausted and, [since the place was] desolate and remote, there was no way to obtain food. It happened that a single wild horse came northward. The prince Ha-cha-erh (Qajar) shot it and killed [it]. Thereupon, they removed the hide¹⁴² to make a cauldron. They produced fire from a stone. They drew the water of the River. They boiled and ate it.

"T'ai-tsu raised his hands and looking up at Heaven swore, saying, 'If I achieve the "Great Work" (= found the empire), I shall [always] be with you men for better or for worse. If I break this [my] word, may I be like the water of the River.'

"Among officers and men there was none who was not moved to tears."

To judge by what the [*Yüan shih*] records, the circumstances are slightly different from [those] in this book.

T'ung-shih (Michiyo) observes: In the "T'ai-tsu [pen]-chi" in the [*Yüan shih*], it is said:

"The water of the River at that time was turbid. The Emperor drank it for the purpose of swearing in the band. [. . .]

"At that time, while Wang Han (Ong Qan) was strong and mighty, the Emperor was weak and uncertain of victory. The band was rather afraid.

"As for all those who drank with [him] the water of the River, they are called *yin-hun-shui* ('[those who] drank the turbid water'). It means that they had once shared hardship."

According to the *Western History*¹⁴³ (西史), T'ai-tsu reached the Pa-erh-chu-na (Baljuna) twice. He reached it once after the battle at Ha-lan-chen (Qaläljin) and, after he had sent a messenger, he reached it again. As to the drinking of the turbid water, it occurred at the time when he reached [it] after the battle. It says:

"As the military strength of Wang Han (Ong Qan) was still in the ascendancy, when Ch'eng-chi-ssu (Činggis) saw that he was no match for [him], he immediately withdrew. After he had withdrawn, his multitude dispersed. And so he escaped to Pa-erh-chu-na (Baljuna). In this area there were several small streams, but, at this time, the water was drying up and the flow was muddy. They could drink only the turbid water. Ch'eng-chi-ssu Han (Činggis Qan) bravely¹⁴⁴ sipped the water and swore an oath with his followers. That day the followers were not many. He called them Pa-erh-chu-t'e

¹⁴¹ See note 89 above.

¹⁴² The character 草 (*ts'ao*) ("grass") in NAKA's text is an error for 革 (*ko*) ("hide").

¹⁴³ I. e., the *Ĵami' al-Tawarikh* by Rašid al-Dīn. See note 136 above.

¹⁴⁴ I. e., unhesitatingly or heroically.

巴兒渚特 (Baljud).¹⁴⁵ The rewards which they received were to continue to later generations.”

HUNG says,¹⁴⁶ “When we look at the biography of Cha-pa-erh (Ĵabar), it seems that, after the battle, [T'ai-tsu] immediately reached this [place].” However, T'ai-tsu, after the battle, went up the Wu-le-hui (Ulqui) River 浯勒灰河 and, going down along the Ho-le-ho (Qalqa) River 合勒合河, he passed Lake Pu-yü-erh (Buyur) 捕魚兒湖. Having reached the eastern shore of the T'ung-ko-li (Tüggeli[g]) Stream 統格黎小河, afterwards he sent a messenger. Before he sent a messenger, he never reached Pa-erh-chu-na (Baljuna). The *Western History*, I fear, is in error.

The second of the three scholars, whose comments I shall cite, is T'ü Chi 屠寄¹⁴⁷ (18??-19??). It is with reluctance, however, that I cite his comments, for they are not characteristic of T'ü Chi at his best. Relative to the name *Dalan Baljud* which, with no justification whatever, he wrote *Ta-lan Pa-le-chu-na* 荅蘭巴勒渚納, T'ü Chi remarked in his *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 蒙兀兒史記¹⁴⁸ 2 (*ts'e* 1). 12r9-12:

A place name. It appears in the [Yüan-ch'ao] *pi-shih* in the Mongolian language. The meaning of Ta-lan (Dalan) is 平川 (*p'ing-ch'uan*) (“Flat River-Valley”).¹⁴⁹ The meaning of Pa-le-chu-na (Baljuna) is 前 (*ch'ien*) (“front”).¹⁵⁰

It may be observed: [According to] the map of the Hei-lung-chiang 黑龍江 based on a new survey, southwest of the Hu-lun Nao-erh 呼倫淖爾 (Külün Na'ur) there is a small lake which is connected to it. The name [of it] is Pa-le-chu-na Wu-su O-mo 巴勒渚納烏蘇鄂模¹⁵¹ (Baljuna Usu Omo). The

¹⁴⁵ I.e., d'OHSSON's “Baldjouniens” (*op. cit.*, p. 72). Although PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 44, n. 1, are of the opinion that Rašid al-Dīn's باجوئو should be transcribed *Bäljüntü*, not *Bäljün(a)tü*, I am inclined to believe that only the latter transcription is acceptable, whatever be the reason for which the *ā* vowel is not noted between the *n* and the *t*.

¹⁴⁶ See page 374 above.

¹⁴⁷ The dates of this scholar of the late Ch'ing and early Republic seem to be undetermined. The remark by PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 48, n. 1, that “T'ou Ki est mort en 1899,” in any case, is erroneous.

¹⁴⁸ For this work cf. the *Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography* 1 (1934) 219. Cf. also HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

¹⁴⁹ This is but one of many instances in which T'ü Chi who, apparently, had little or no knowledge of Mongolian ventured to “translate” a name or term under discussion. *Dalan* in Mongolian means “Seventy.” Cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 40, n. 1.

¹⁵⁰ This, of course, is incorrect. The meaning of *Baljuna* is unknown. Cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 49, n. 1.

¹⁵¹ Cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 48, n. 1.

meaning is 前水泊 (*ch'ien-shui-p'ò*) ("Front-Water-Lake").¹⁵² Its water comes from a branch (分支) in the lower reaches of the K'o-lu-lien (Kerülen) River. The southeast course is called the Wu-erh-k'un 烏爾袞 (Orqon) and Cha-erh-ma 札爾瑪¹⁵³ (Jarma) Rivers. They collect¹⁵⁴ to form this lake. It also overflows¹⁵⁵ out of the northeastern corner of the lake to form [the] Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) [River]. It is also called the Pa-le-chu-na (Baljuna) Shui ("River"). It pours into the Hu-lun Nao-erh (Külün Na'ur). The *Ch'in-cheng-lu* calls it the Hu-t'u (Qutu) Swamp 虎圖澤.¹⁵⁶ The book by La-shih-t'e 辣施特 (Rašid) calls it Hu-tun Nao-erh (Qudun Na'ur) 虎敦淖爾 ("Qudun Lake").¹⁵⁷ The variant orthographies Hu-t'u and Hu-tun [also] are written Huai-t'u 懷禿. In the Mongolian language, it [= Huai-t'u] has the meaning of 後 (*hou*) ("behind"). The two lakes are connected to each other. One is found in the southwest; one is found in the northeast. Hence, "front" and "back" are taken as the meanings.¹⁵⁸ This battle-ground lay in the flat river-valley, south of the Pa-le-chu-na Wu-su O-mo (Baljuna Usu Omo). Hence, it is called Ta-lan Pa-le-chu-na (Dalan Baljuna). The *Ch'in-cheng-lu* and the "T'ai-tsu [pen]-chi" in the *Old History* (= *Yüan shih*) write "the region of Ta-lan Pan-chu-ssu 荅蘭版朱思 (Dalan Baljus)." After Ch'eng-chi-ssu (Činggis) had fought with Wang Han 王罕 (Ong Qan), together with nineteen men he drank the water and made a covenant here.

Finally, I shall cite comments of the great scholar WANG Kuo-wei 王國維¹⁵⁹ (1877-1927) from whose edition of the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* I have cited the passage relative to the Baljuna covenant.¹⁶⁰ WANG's commentary on this text reads as follows (*op. cit.* 47v7-48v6):

Ni-erh-chin (Nirgin) is close to the sound of Yüeh-erh-chin 月兒斤 (Yör-gin) in the text above,¹⁶¹ Yao-erh-chin 要兒斤 (Yürgin) in the "T'ai-tsu

¹⁵² *Baljuna* does not mean "front." See note 150 above. *Usu* does mean "water" or "river" in Mongolian. *Omo* means "lake" in Manchu. Cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹⁵³ I have not identified the river to which T'u Chi refers.

¹⁵⁴ Lit., "pool themselves."

¹⁵⁵ The character 隘 is an error for 溢.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 415, n. 9.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 415, n. 9.

¹⁵⁸ While it is true that *qoyitu* means "behind" in Mongolian, there can be no question of such a word here. The theory of T'u Chi, as observed by PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 415, n. 9, is quite unfounded.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. the "Nécrologie" by Paul PELLIOU in *TP* 26(1929).70-72. For further references to WANG in Western Sinological literature cf. CLEAVES, "A Chancellery Practice . . .," *HJAS* 14(1951).497, n. 10.

¹⁶⁰ See pages 371-372 above.

¹⁶¹ Cf. the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu chiao-chu* 17r5. Cf. also PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 192 and pp. 200-201, n. 4.

[pen-]chi,"¹⁶² and Yüeh-li-chin 岳里斤 (Yörgin) in the "Shih-hsi piao" 世系表¹⁶³ in the *Yüan shih*. As for Yüeh-erh-chin, the *Pi-shih* writes Chu-erh-ch'in 主兒勤¹⁶⁴ (Jürkin). As for Nü-chen 女真, the *Pi-shih* also writes Chu-erh-ch'e-tai 主兒扯歹¹⁶⁵ (Jürčedei). Hence *ni* also alternates with the sound of *chu*. According to the *Pi-shih*, 4,¹⁶⁶ [the term] *Chu-erh-ch'in* (Jürkin) [has] the meaning of "unrivalled bravery."¹⁶⁷ Hence, the various tribes outside the Pass frequently have this tribal name. The Mongols had the Chu-erh-ch'in (Jürkin) and the Ch'ieh-lich 怯烈 (Kere[yid]) tribe had the Chih-erh-chin 只兒斤 (Jirgin). This name Ni-erh-chin (Nirgin) of a separate tribe of the Hung-chi-la (Qunggira[d]) also took this meaning.¹⁶⁸

As for the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River, the *Pi-shih* writes Pa-le-chu-na (Baljuna) hai-tzu.

HUNG *shih-lang* says:¹⁶⁹ "[If we examine it (in)] the Russian map, [then we see that] within the confines of O-lo-ssu (Oros) (= Russia) north of the Wo-nan (Onan) River there is a Lake Pa-erh-chu-na (Baljuna). In the Russian pronunciation it resembles Pa-le-ch'ih-no (Balcino). North of the Lake there is a river which is called T'u-la (Tura) and which enters the Yin-kuo-ta (Ingoda) River. To judge by the Russian [48r] map, the River and the Lake are not connected. Perhaps, when the water [of the latter] swells, it runs into the River. Perhaps, nearby, there are still little streams, but the map does not indicate them. Hence, the [*Yüan*] *shih* and the [*Ch'in-cheng*]-lu regard it as the name of a river. Russians who have travelled this [far] say that 'the area is very much wooded, suitable for summer residence, and good as a refuge from war. The Mongols still indicate that this area is the place where Ch'eng-chi-ssu Han (Činggis Qan) took refuge.'"

T'U Ching-shan 屠敬山¹⁷⁰ says:¹⁷¹ "[According to] the map of the Heilung-chiang based on new survey, southwest of the Hu-lun Nao-erh (Külün Na'ur), there is a small lake which is connected to it. The name [of it] is Pa-

¹⁶² As remarked by PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 200, n. 4, the name of the tribe is not mentioned and in the corresponding passage in the *Yüan shih* 1 (ts'e 1) .5v6. WANG's reference appears to be inexact. Cf., however, PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 200, n. 4, for a reference to the same transcription elsewhere in the *Yüan shih*.

¹⁶³ Cf. the *Yüan shih* 107 (ts'e 36) .2r. Cf. also PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 200, n. 4. Cf. also HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 17, n. 12.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. the *YCPS* 3 (ts'e 3) .41v2 *et passim*. Cf. also PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 200, n. 4.

¹⁶⁵ WANG's statement is not correct. Jürčedei in the *Secret History* is the name of a person. (See note 54 above.) The name of the Nü-chen in the *Secret History* is Jürčed. Cf. ERICH HAENISCH, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un niuca tobca'an* (*Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi*), *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, Leipzig, 1939, p. 179a.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. the *YCPS* 4 (ts'e 4) .26v2.

¹⁶⁷ Or, more literally, "There was not anyone who could resist [them]." For a discussion of this question cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201, n. 4.

¹⁶⁸ WANG's conclusion, of course, is entirely unfounded.

¹⁶⁹ See page 374 above.

¹⁷⁰ I. e., T'U Chi. See note 147 above.

¹⁷¹ See pages 383-384 above.

le-chu-na Wu-su O-mo (Baljuna Usu Omo). The meaning is *ch'ien-shui-p'ò* ("Front Water Lake"). Its water comes from a branch in the lower reaches of the K'o-lu-lun (Kerülün) River. [The southeast course]¹⁷² is called the Wu-erh-k'un (Orqon) and Cha-erh-ma (Jarma) Rivers. They collect to form this lake. It also overflows out of the northeastern [corner] of the lake to form the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) [River]. It is also called the Pa-le-chu-na Shui. It pours into the Hu-lun Nao-erh (Külün Na'ur)."

According to these two theories, at the present time the territories of China and Russia each have a lake called Pa-le-chu-na, but, according to what the *Pi-shih* records,¹⁷³ "There was a Hui-hui 回回 ('Moslem') named A-san 阿三 (Asan) who had one thousand sheep and one white camel who came down the E-erh-ku-nieh (Ergüne) River 額爾古涅河 to exchange [them] for sables and squirrels. When he reached Lake Pa-le-chu-na (Baljuna) and watered the sheep, he encountered Ch'eng-chi-ssu (Činggis), etc., etc." This being so, then A-san (Asan) had to come along the E-erh-ku-nieh (Ergüne) River before he reached Lake Pa-le-chu-na (Baljuna), which means that this Lake must have been at the lower reaches of the E-erh-ku-nu (Ergüne) River. It not only could not have been north of the Wo-nan (Onan) River but also could not have been southwest of the Hu-lun Nao-erh (Külün Na'ur). [This means] that what HUNG and T'U described in either case is not this lake. Yet we observe that, after T'ai-tsu stayed over at the Tung-ko (Tüngge) [48v] Swamp, [since the] water and grass had become abundant and fine, the tribes and multitude (=his followers) congregated in great numbers. As, when he sent envoys to deliver [a message of] rebuke to Wang K'o-han (Ong Qayan), he already had the intention of punishing him,¹⁷⁴ it is not permissible [for us] to think that at this time he would retreat to the northeast and halt at the lower reaches of the E-erh-ku-no (Ergüne) River 額爾古訥河. [Our] conjecture is that, the *Pi-shih*, in recording the story of A-san (Asan), only meant to say that he intended to go along the E-erh-ku-nieh (Ergüne) River and did not mean to say that he had already reached that River. It is merely that the account is not complete. When we observe that the fact that the *Pi-shih* records that T'ai-tsu moved his army from the Pa-le-chu-na (Baljuna) and straightway hastened to the K'o-lu-lien (Kerülen) 客魯漣河 River, [this means that] T'U's theory about the small lake southwest of the Hu-lun Nao-erh (Külün Na'ur) is, indeed, reasonable.¹⁷⁵ Again, it seems to corroborate the explanation about the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River being "the present Lung-chü River" [as given] in the biography of Su-pu-t'ai (Sübütei) in the *Yüan shih*.¹⁷⁶

As to the passage in the *Ch'in-cheng-lu* relative to the second

¹⁷² The words 東南流 of T'U Chi's text, *op. cit.* 2(*ts'è* 1).12r10, seemed to have been inadvertently omitted by WANG.

¹⁷³ Cf. the *YCPS* 6(*ts'è* 6).44v2. See also pages 367-368 above for the translation of §182 of the *Secret History*.

¹⁷⁴ Lit., "asking [him] about [his] crime," i. e., "making him pay for his crime."

¹⁷⁵ Lit., "especially has that which meets one's heart."

¹⁷⁶ See note 110 above.

arrival of Činggis Qan at the Baljuna, WANG commented as follows (*op. cit.* 50v7-10) :

The Ho 何¹⁷⁷ copy does not have these twenty characters.¹⁷⁸ We have added [them] on the basis of the *Shuo-fu* 說郛¹⁷⁹ text and the WANG 汪¹⁸⁰ copy. [According to] the Book of La-shih-t'e (Rašid),¹⁸¹ in the autumn of this year [1203] the Emperor advanced his army from the Pa-erh-chu-na 巴爾渚納 (Baljuna) and was about to attack Wang Han (Ong Han) from the Wo-nan (Onan) River." It is exactly identical with this. However, according to the *Pi-shih*, the Emperor advanced his army from the Pa-le-chu-na (Baljuna) and proceeded directly to the K'o-lu-lien (Kerülen) River. There was no reason for him to take a round-about way to the source of the Wo-nan (Onan) River. This [text] and the Book of La-shih-t'e (Rašid), perhaps, are both wrong.

Valuable as they are, it must be admitted that the remarks by NAKA Michiyo, T'U Chi, and WANG Kuo-wei are of little help in the solution of the Baljuna problem of which the crux unquestionably is that of the sequence of events. Linked, however, with the question of the sequence of events is another of no less relevance: Did the battle which took place in the Qalaqaljid Sands in 1203 between Ong Qan of the Kereyid and Činggis Qan of the Mongyol spell victory or defeat for the latter? For Rašid al-Dīn, as may be seen from the account of the battle and subsequent events as narrated by d'OHSSON (*op. cit.* 1.69-72), it was a defeat, for Činggis Qan, "malgré tous ses efforts, dut à la fin céder au nombre et chercher son salut dans la fuite (1)." ¹⁸² Then, in the words of d'OHSSON (*op. cit.* 1.71-72) :

. . . Abandonné pour lors de la plus grande partie de ses troupes, il se retira près de la Baldjouna, qui était presque à sec; il fut réduit à boire l'eau qui était exprimée de la vase. Touché de la fidélité de ceux qui ne l'avaient point quitté dans sa détresse, il leur promit, les mains jointes, et les yeux levés au ciel, que [72] désormais il partagerait avec eux le *doux et l'amer*,

¹⁷⁷ See note 140 above.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* 50v6. Cf. also PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 43, n. 1.

¹⁷⁹ For this text of the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

¹⁸⁰ I. e. WANG Jen 汪軻. Cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

¹⁸¹ See note 136 above.

¹⁸² Cf. d'OHSSON, *op. cit.* 1.71. d'OHSSON's note reads as follows:

"(1) « Cette bataille de Calantchin Alt, dit Raschid, est célèbre chez les Mongols. Ils la citent encore aujourd'hui. »

disant que s'il manquait à sa parole, il voulait devenir comme l'eau bourbeuse de la Baldjouna(1); en même temps il but de cette eau, et présenta la coupe à ses officiers, qui jurèrent à leur tour de ne jamais l'abandonner. Ces compagnons de Témoutchin furent distingués dans la suite, par le surnom de *Baldjouniens*, et récompensés avec munificence de leur fidèle attachement. . . .¹⁸³

Yet, in the next paragraph, D'OHSSON (*op. cit.* 1.73) goes on to say:

Témoutchin se rendit ensuite sur le bord de la rivière *Or*, d'où il atteignit un lieu nommé *Galtakāi-Cada*, près du fleuve *Cala* (1). Il y fut joint par quelques troupes; ses forces s'élevèrent à quatre mille six cents hommes. Cotoyant la *Cala*, il alla poser son camp sur le bord du lac *Tounga*, à un endroit nommé *Tourouca Courgan*, d'où il députa vers le Khan Kéraite un certain Erti-Djioun, de la tribu *Iltourkine*, avec ce message:¹⁸⁴

It seems strange that, if he had suffered in the Qalaqaljīd Sands a defeat of such gravity that he was not only forced to retreat, but, further, was deserted by the majority of his forces, Činggis Qan could suddenly muster 4,600 men at Keltegei Qada. It seems to me that Rašīd al-Dīn, whatever be the reason or, indeed, the purpose, if any, in so narrating the events immediately subsequent to the battle in the Qalaqaljīd Sands, is in error. None of the other sources—the *Secret History*, the *Yüan shih*, and the *Ch'in-cheng-lu*—regards the outcome of the battle as a defeat¹⁸⁵ for Činggis Qan and none of the other sources places the Baljuna episode immediately after that battle. Leaving aside a number of conflicting points such as the fact that the *Ch'in-cheng-lu*¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ D'OHSSON's note reads as follows:

"(1) Vassaf dit la source de Baldjouna, et ajoute que ce nom signifie *eau bourbeuse*. *L'Histoire des Youans* rapporte que Témoutchin se retira sur le bord de la rivière *Bantchour*, p. 28.—Sur un plateau, au nord de l'Onon, est un petit lac peu profond, nommé *Baldjina*, d'où sort la petite rivière de Toura, qui se jette au nord dans l'Ingoda."

¹⁸⁴ D'OHSSON's note reads as follows:

"(1) La *Cala* est peut-être la rivière appelée aujourd'hui *Kalka*, qui sort des monts Hingan et afflue dans le lac *Bouyour*."

Several of the proper names in this passage of D'OHSSON's account are distorted. Thus, for example, *Cala*, indeed, is the *Qalqa*, *Galtakāi-Cada* is *Keltegei Qada*, and *Erti-Djioun* appears to be a telescoping and corruption of *Arqai Qasar* and *Sügegei Je'ün*.

¹⁸⁵ PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 46, n. 1, tracing the movements of Činggis Qan after the battle of the Qalaqaljīd Sands, refer to "sa victoire à la Pyrrhus, qui fut peut-être une défaite."

¹⁸⁶ Cf. the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* 37v2-9.

and Rašīd al-Dīn ¹⁸⁷ put the number of the troops of Činggis Qan at 4,600, the *Secret History* ¹⁸⁸ at 2,600, and the *Yüan shih* ¹⁸⁹ fails to mention them at all, let us rapidly and tentatively retrace the sequence of principal events immediately preceding and subsequent to the battle in the Qalaqaljid Sands as they are reported in one or more, if not all, of the four sources.

In the spring of the year 1203 Ong Qan and his son Senggüm invited Činggis Qan to a betrothal feast ostensibly to give Ča'ur Beki, Ong Qan's daughter and Senggüm's sister, to Činggis Qan's eldest son Joči to wife.¹⁹⁰ Činggis Qan set out with ten riders and stopped on the way at the tent of Father Münglig who dissuaded him from proceeding to the feast.¹⁹¹ Warned by two herdsmen, Badai and Kišiliy, that the invitation was, in effect, nothing more than a ruse to lure him into a trap, Činggis Qan abandoned his impedimenta, fled at night, and reached the Qalaqaljid Sands at noon the next day.¹⁹² In the early afternoon, he joined battle with his Kereyid adversaries and fought until the evening when he withdrew, gradually making his way to the Qalqa River.¹⁹³ Splitting his forces he marched along the western bank of the River with half of them and the other half—Uruyud and Mangyud troops—marched along the eastern bank.¹⁹⁴ At Keltegei Qada of Mount Or Nu'u he buried the loyal and devoted Quyildar.¹⁹⁵ Sending Jürčedei of the Mangyud to obtain the surrender of the Qunggirad chiefs who were at Lake Buyur, he hurried on to the Tüngge Stream.¹⁹⁶ From there he sent a long message to Ong Qan and

¹⁸⁷ Cf. D'OHSSON, *op. cit.* 1.73.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. §175.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. the *Yüan shih* 1 (ts'e 1).10v9.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. the *Yüan shih* 1 (ts'e 1).10r9; the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* 35r3; the *Secret History* §168; and D'OHSSON, *op. cit.* 1.69.

¹⁹¹ Cf. the *Yüan shih* 1 (ts'e 1).10v1; the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* 35r8; the *Secret History* §168; and D'OHSSON, *op. cit.* 1.69.

¹⁹² Cf. the *Yüan shih* 1 (ts'e 1).10v2-4; the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* 36r10-37r3; the *Secret History* §§169-170; and D'OHSSON, *op. cit.* 1.70.

¹⁹³ Cf. the *Yüan shih* 1 (ts'e 1).10v5-9; the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* 37r6-37v2; the *Secret History* §§170-175; and D'OHSSON, *op. cit.* 1.71-73.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* 37v2-9; the *Secret History* §175; and D'OHSSON, *op. cit.* 1.73.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. the *Secret History* §175.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. the *Yüan shih* 1 (ts'e 1).10v9; the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu* 38r2; the *Secret History* §177; and D'OHSSON, *op. cit.* 1.73.

Senggüm by Arqai and Sügegei Ĵe'ün.¹⁹⁷ Upon their return he sent a further message.¹⁹⁸ A branch of the Qunggirad known as the Nirgin were captured at that time¹⁹⁹ and then Činggis Qan reached the Baljuna River (or Lake Baljuna).²⁰⁰ It is at this point that the *Secret History*,²⁰¹ the *Yüan shih*,²⁰² and the *Ch'in-cheng-lu*²⁰³ place the Baljuna episode and that Rašid al-Dīn²⁰⁴ who has already narrated the episode is content to state that Činggis Qan passed the summer of 1203 at the Baljuna River (or Lake Baljuna). As to the episode itself, the *Yüan shih*²⁰⁵ and the *Ch'in-cheng-lu*²⁰⁶ both relate the sealing of the covenant which, as we have seen, is omitted from the *Secret History* and placed immediately after the battle in the Qalaqljīd Sands by Rašid al-Dīn. Then the messengers Qali'udar and Čaqurqan were sent to Ong Qan who sent an envoy in return.²⁰⁷ In the autumn of this same year Činggis Qan moved his troops from the Baljuna to the Kerülen River, as the *Secret History*²⁰⁸ has it, or to the Onan River, as the *Ch'in-cheng-lu*²⁰⁹ and Rašid al-Dīn²¹⁰ have it. After messengers were sent once again, Činggis Qan attacked Ong

¹⁹⁷ Cf. the *Yüan shih* 1 (*ts'e* 1).10v9-12r5; the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* 38r7-47r2; the *Secret History* §177; and d'OHSSON, *op. cit.* 1.73-78.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. the *Yüan shih* 1 (*ts'e* 1).12r6-7; the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* 47v5; and the *Secret History* §§177-181.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. the *Yüan shih* 1 (*ts'e* 1).12r7-12v1; the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* 47v6; d'OHSSON, *op. cit.* 1.79.

²⁰⁰ At this juncture I should reiterate the fact that, in drawing up this tentative summary of events which occurred from the spring of the year 1203 to the time when Činggis Qan withdrew to the Baljuna River (or Lake Baljuna), I have omitted a number of conflicting details which do not seem to have any material relevance to the main thread of events. These are details, however, which must, in due course, be subjected to careful scrutiny for the magnitude of the problems they raise, individually and collectively, cannot be minimized.

²⁰¹ Cf. the *Secret History* §182.

²⁰² Cf. the *Yüan shih* 1 (*ts'e* 1).12r7-12v1.

²⁰³ Cf. the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* 47v6-48v11.

²⁰⁴ Cf. d'OHSSON, *op. cit.* 1.80.

²⁰⁵ See note 202 above.

²⁰⁶ See note 203 above.

²⁰⁷ Cf. the *Yüan shih* 1 (*ts'e* 1).12v5-9 and the *Secret History* §183.

²⁰⁸ Cf. the *Secret History* §183.

²⁰⁹ Cf. the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* 50v6.

²¹⁰ Cf. d'OHSSON, *op. cit.* 1.80.

Qan at Ĵer Qabčiyai of Ĵeje'er Heights and, all sources agree, the Kereyid were defeated.²¹¹

The question we must now ask is this: Is the sealing of the Baljuna covenant by Činggis Qan with a small band of followers—nineteen, to use a number which may be exact—as here represented consistent with the circumstances as reported in the *Yüan shih*, the *Ch'in-cheng-lu*, and even in the *Secret History* which does not mention the covenant? The answer, it seems to me, obviously is a negative one. There is nothing in the circumstances immediately preceding the Baljuna covenant, as they are reported in those sources, which suggests that Činggis Qan was reduced to the extremity dramatized by the Baljuna covenant. It is entirely possible that Rašid al-Dīn was aware of this fact and, troubled by it, placed the Baljuna episode at the point which to him seemed most logical, that is immediately after the battle in the Qalaqaljīd Sands. But, as Činggis Qan appears almost immediately thereafter at the Qalqa River with 4,600 troops, it is difficult to believe that he could recoup his losses so speedily.

The only solution, it seems to me, is that proposed by KAO: the Baljuna covenant was sealed by Činggis with his followers in the course of his flight, after being warned by Badai and Kišiliy of the fate which awaited him, if he proceeded to the betrothal feast. Inasmuch as the *Secret History* specifically states that Činggis Qan fled the very night that he received this intelligence and arrived at the Qalaqaljīd Sands the afternoon of the following day, it is possible that the covenant was sealed early in the morning of the day of the battle. On the other hand, it is, perhaps, not necessary to take the *Secret History's* chronology of these events quite so literally. Be that as it may, only the circumstances under which Činggis Qan took flight upon being warned are consistent with those under which he was impelled to seal the covenant with his followers. At that moment he was weak and Ong Qan was strong. Surely it was not then that he sent to Ong Qan the message which, in effect, was an ultimatum. In favor of KAO's solution, too, is a point which he failed to mention: the fact, accord-

²¹¹ Cf. the *Yüan shih* 1 (*ts'ei* 1).12v9; the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu* 51v3-10; the *Secret History* §§185-186; and v'OUSSON, *op. cit.* 1.80.

ing to the *Yüan shih* and the *Secret History*, that, when Činggis Qan set out to go to the betrothal feast, his party consisted of but *ten* persons. That the number had increased from *ten* to *nineteen* by the time Činggis Qan sealed the Baljuna covenant is quite understandable, especially when we recall that it is specifically stated in the *Secret History* that, before fleeing to the Qalaqaljid Sands, he sent a message to trusted partisans in the vicinity. It is entirely conceivable that the Baljuna River (or Lake Baljuna) was designated in the message as the *rendez-vous*, being a point more or less mid-way between the place in which Father Münglig had pitched and the Qalaqaljid Sands. It must have been a marshy terrain with thick undergrowth, suitable for refuge from one's adversaries. In view of all these factors, therefore, I am inclined to the belief not only that there is a displacement of the Baljuna episode in the account by Rašid al-Dīn, but also that there is a similar displacement of it in the *Secret History*, the *Yüan shih* and the *Ch'in-cheng-lu*.²¹²

As to those who participated in the Baljuna covenant, Hsü Sung, as the Arch. Palladii tells us, "found the names of fourteen of them." Of these names, only that of Cha-pa-erh Huo-che (Ĵabar Qoĵe) is cited by the Arch. Palladii.

CH'ÏEN Ta-hsin 錢大昕 (1728-1804),²¹³ however, had already cited the names of fourteen participants in his *Nien-erh-shih k'ao-i* 廿二史攷異²¹⁴ [*Notes on the Twenty-Two Histories*]. In the edition of the *Nien-erh-shih k'ao-i* in 100 *chüan* published in the *Kuang-ya ts'ung-shu* 廣雅叢書²¹⁵ (*ts'e* 313-330), we find the following entry in *chüan* 93 (*ts'e* 329) . 10r7-10v2:²¹⁶

²¹² No definitive solution of the problem can be expected, until a more thorough study of it is made on the basis of all the extant, relevant source material.

²¹³ For a biography by Tu Lien-chê, cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 152b-155a.

²¹⁴ For this work cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 153a.

²¹⁵ For this work cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 28b.

²¹⁶ See pages 396-397 below for the translation of the complete account of the Baljuna episode as related in the biography of Ĵabar Qoĵe. The texts from which CH'ÏEN Ta-hsin drew the names listed in his note relative to the "nineteen" men who fled to the Baljuni River with Činggis Qan, with the single exception of the passage already cited from the "T'ai-tsu pen-chi" (see pages 370-371 above), are found in the several biographies of the persons so mentioned. As these texts all are cited below, I shall not identify them individually at this juncture.

The Biography of Cha-pa-erh Huo-che (Ĵabar Qoĵe)

T'ai-tsu straightway withdrew and fled. Those who went with [him were] only nineteen men [in number]. Cha-pa-erh (Ĵabar) was included.

When they reached the Pan-chu-ni (Balĵuni) River, [. . .].

Pan-chu-ni (Balĵuni) sometimes is written *Pan-chu-chü ho* 班术居河 and sometimes is written *Pan chun ho* 辨屯河. At this time, those who drank the water of the river, were nineteen men [in number]. As to those of them who can be attested (攷), [they are] Po-t'u 孛徒 (Botu)—An I-ch'i-lieh 亦乞烈 (Ikire[s]) tribesman, he is [the same as] Po-t'u 孛秃 (Botu)—, Cha-pa-erh (Ĵabar)—[of] the Sai-i 塞夷 (Sayyi[d]) clan—, Chen-hai 鎮海—[of] the Ch'ieh-lieh-t'ai 怯烈台 (Kere[yi]tei) clan—, Ha-san-na 哈散納—[of] the Ch'ieh-lieh-i 怯烈亦 (Kerey[i]d) clan—, Huai-tu 懷都 (Qaidu)—[of] the Meng-ku Ch'ieh-lieh 蒙古怯烈 (Mong_{yo}[l] Kere[yid]) clan—, Shao-ku-erh 紹古兒—[of] the Mai-li-chi-t'ai 麥里吉台 (Mergitei) clan—, Hsüeh-li-chien Na-yen 雪里堅那顏 (? Sörgen Noyan)—[of] the Ch'e-wu-t'ai 徹兀台 ([?]Če'ütei) clan—, A[10v]-chu-lu 阿木魯 (?Aĵulu[γ])—[of] the Wo-lu-na-t'ai 斡魯納台 (Oruna[r]tai) clan—, T'a-hai Pa-tu-erh 塔海拔都兒 (Tayai Bādur)—[of] the Sun-tu-ssu 遜都思 (Suldus) clan. YEH-LÜ T'u-hua 耶律禿花, YEH-LÜ A-hai 耶律阿海, and Ha-sa-erh 哈撒兒 (Qasar), father and son, should also be included. As to the rest, we are not informed.

WEI Yüan 魏源 (1794-1856),²¹⁷ the author of the *Yüan-shih hsin-pien* 元史新編,²¹⁸ devoted an entire chapter of his history to the Balĵuna question. Entitled "Shih hun-ho kung-ch'en" 誓渾河功臣 ("The Meritorious Ministers [Who Participated] in the Oath at the Turbid River"), it constitutes *chüan* 23 (*ts'e* 7). 1r2-8r7. It opens as follows (1r3-9):

Just at the time when T'ai-tsu became *ho-han* (*qayan*), he was attacked by Wang Han (Ong Qan), father and son, of the K'o-lieh (Kere[yid]) tribe. The enemy's potential being strong and victory [for T'ai-tsu] being uncertain, then he drank the water of the Pan-chu-ni (Balĵuni) River in order to swear in the band.

In the *Old History* (= *Yüan shih*) sometimes it is written *Pan-chu-ni ho* 班术尼河, sometimes it is written *Pan-chen ho* 班真河, sometimes it is written *Hei-ho* 黑河, and sometimes it is written *Hun-ho* 渾河. In the *Yüan*[-ch'ao] *pi-shih* it is written *Pa-le-chu*[-na] *hai-tzu* 巴勒渚納²¹⁹ 海子 ("Lake Balĵuna").

²¹⁷ For a biography by Tu Lien-chê, cf. Arthur W. HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, Volume II, P-Z, Washington, 1944, pp. 850b-852a.

²¹⁸ Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 851a.

²¹⁹ This character does not appear in Wei's note.

Those who drank this water with [him] were altogether nineteen men [in number]. They are called the "meritorious subjects who drank [the water of] the Turbid River." It means that they had once experienced hardship together. In the *Old History* [their names] are scattered among the various biographies. [We] calculate that, excepting [those among] the "Four Heroes" ²²⁰ (四傑) and the "Four Vanguards" ²²¹ (四先鋒),

The *Yüan shih*, in narrating the deeds of the "Four Heroes," only, [in the case of] Po-erh-hu 博爾忽 ²²² (Bor[o]yu[l]), mentions his drinking the water of the Turbid River. ²²³ As to the others, in that which is said [about them] there is no mention of it.

those who can now be ascertained are fifteen men [in number]. Excepting the several separate biographies of the three men Po-erh-hu (Bor[o]yu[l]) and the imperial son-in-law Po-t'u (Botu) and Su-pu-t'ai 速不台 (Sübütei), now, as to these twelve men, in some cases [they have] separate biographies and in some cases they are mentioned in the biographies of their descendants. [We] classify [them] as follows: ²²⁴

WEI Yüan then cited (1r10-7v3) the pertinent passages from the biographies to which he had previously made reference. In conclusion (7v4-8r7), he began by saying (7v4-6):

It may be observed that the nineteen meritorious ministers [who participated] in the oath at the Turbid River were not necessarily all talents of "the vaporization of the clouds or the metamorphosis of the dragon," ²²⁵ yet [T'ai-tsu (= Činggis Qan), even as Kuang-wu 光武 of the Han 漢 remembering] "the cooked wheat of Hu-t'o-ho 渾沱河 and the bean gruel of Wu-lü-t'ing 蕪婁亭," ²²⁶ indeed, surpassed ten thousand times ten thousand

²²⁰ I. e., Boγorčū, Muqali, Boroyul, and Čilayun.

²²¹ I. e., Jebe, Qubilai, Jelme, Sübegetei.

²²² For a discussion of this and other transcriptions of the name of Boroyul cf. PELLLOT and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 372-378, n. 31.

²²³ I regret to state that I have not succeeded in finding the passage which WEI Yüan seemed to have had in mind.

²²⁴ As I have preferred to cite the pertinent texts directly from the *Yüan shih* and in the sequence in which they therein occur, I have abstained from including a translation of them as they were presented by WEI Yüan.

²²⁵ The words 雲蒸龍變 (*yün cheng lung pien*) are found in the *Shih chi* 90 (*ts'e* 23).5v9. The passage in which they occur reads as follows (5v9-10): "If they (i. e., WEI Pao 魏豹 and P'ENG Yüeh 彭越) should be able to lay hold of a scepter of [but] a *ch'ih* 尺 or a *ts'un* 寸 in length (i. e., of just a little power), [then, amidst] the vaporization of the clouds or the metamorphosis of the dragon (i. e., numerous vicissitudes which are difficult to predict), there might be some opportunity which would give them a chance." The historian means that these were men who were extremely resourceful. They felt that, as long as they were alive, their cause was not yet hopeless. Hence, they accepted imprisonment.

²²⁶ This is an allusion to the passage in the biography of FENG I 馮異 in the *Hou-Han shu* 17 (*ts'e* 8).1r4-15v8, which reads (8r3-9):

"[Kuang-wu 光武] reached Wu-lü-t'ing 蕪婁亭 in Jao-yang 饒陽. At that time

"those of former times who, [once] the birds were all caught, laid [their] bows aside."²²⁷ Now those [of the nineteen] who can be ascertained are fifteen men [in number]. There still are four men wanting. Might they [not] be among the "Four Heroes" and the "Four Vanguard"?

The Japanese scholar NAKA Michiyo, for his part, also cited in his *Chingisu-kan jitsuroku* 成吉思汗實錄²²⁸ (pp. 209-213) the passages in the biographies in the *Yüan shih* relative to the Baljuna covenant.

As we have seen, only one of the passages in the biographies in the *Yüan shih* in which there is mention of the Baljuna covenant states that those who accompanied Činggis Qan when he fled from Ong Qan were nineteen in number: that in the biography of the Mohammedan Ĵabar Qoĵe. However, there is, as we shall see, another source, apparently hitherto unnoticed, which confirms this figure. Of the nineteen men, thirteen were identified by CH'EN Ta-hsin and fifteen by WEI Yüan.²²⁹ As to the remaining four, his suggestion that they are to be found among the "Four

the weather was severely cold. The troops all were famished and weary. [FENG] I offered up bean gruel. The next morning Kuang-wu addressed the generals, saying, 'Yesterday, when I got the bean gruel from Kung-sun 公孫, hunger and cold both left me.'

"When [Kuang-wu] reached Nan-kung 南宮, he encountered a great wind and rain. Kuang-wu drew his cart into an empty house by the side of the road. [FENG] I gathered firewood and TENG Yü 鄧禹 lit a fire. Kuang-wu dried his clothing before the fireplace. [FENG] I, in turn, presented cooked wheat and rabbit shoulder (菟[=兔]肩). And then [Kuang-wu] crossed the Hu-t'o-ho 庫陀河 and reached Hsin-tu 信都."

Again, in the same biography, we also read (12r7-8):

"[Kuang-wu] decreed, saying, 'The generosity [exemplified in respect] of the improvised bean gruel of Wu-lü-t'ing and the cooked wheat of Hu-t'o-ho has not been announced for a long time.'"

By this Kuang-wu meant that for a long time he had not had the benefit of the advice of FENG I, of whom many people were jealous, and that he wondered why FENG I did not continue to advise him.

²²⁷ This is an allusion to a passage in the account of the "Hereditary House of Kou-chien, King of Yüeh" 越王勾踐世家 in the *Shih chi* 41 (ts'e 15).1r2-15r1 (7r7-8). Édouard CHAVANNES, *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Tome quatrième (Chapitres XXXI-XLII), Paris, 1901, p. 432, translated it as follows:

"Fan Li était aussitôt parti, et, (du pays) de Ts'ü, il envoya au grand officier (Wen) Tch'eng une lettre dans laquelle il lui disait: « Quand l'oiseau qui vole a été atteint, le bon arc est caché; quand le lièvre rusé est mort, le chien agile est mis à cuire . . . »."

²²⁸ Tōkyō, 1907.

²²⁹ See pages 393 and 394 above.

Heroes" and the "Four Vanguard" is an excellent one. However, there is not even a hint of the participation of either the "Heroes" or the "Vanguard" in the Baljuna covenant in any of their biographies in the *Yüan shih*. The question, then, which awaits an answer is this: Who were the other four men?

It is, perhaps, not without interest to observe that WOLFF in his account of the Baljuna episode on pages 42-44 of his *Geschichte der Mongolen oder Tataren*, quite independently of WEI Yüan, included the "Four Heroes"—Muqali, Boyorču, Boyorul, and Čilayun—among those who participated in the Baljuna covenant:

... An dem Wasser Baldschune verband sich Temudschin mit seinem wiedergekehrten Bruder Chassar Esen, seinem Schwager, den Olchonod-Chonkiraten Wadschir Ssetsen, seinen sogenannten 4 Unerschrockenen Muchuli oder Muhuli, dem Dschelairen, Boghordschi, dem Arulaten Bughurul oder Borguhl, dem Uegüschin, Tschilaghon, dem Ssuldus und anderen seiner Verwandten und hohen Befehlshaber durch einen feierlichen Eid, indem er zuerst von dem mit Pferdeblut gemischten Wasser des Baldschune trank, gelobend, mit seinen Gefährten Süßes und Bitteres zu theilen und wenn er sein Gelübde nicht halte, wolle er werden, wie das Wasser, welches er trinke. Alle Anwesenden legten denselben Schwur [44] ab und war es später, von einem der Baldschunier abzustammen, eine hohe Ehre.

I do not, of course, regard this undocumented account as the answer to the question.

The pertinent passages in the several biographies in the *Yüan shih* are extremely important not only for the details they furnish concerning the Baljuna covenant as such, but also because they reveal that, when the *Yüan shih* was compiled in 1369, participation in the covenant was looked upon as a singular event not only in the life of the individual concerned, but also in the history of his line. It obviously was a mark of the highest distinction. In presenting these passages in translation, I have observed the sequence in which they occur in the *Yüan shih* itself. They read as follows:

1) The biography of Cha-pa-erh Huo-che 札八兒火者 (Jabar Qoje)²³⁰ in the *Yüan shih* 120 (*ts'e* 38).6r7-8r6 (6v1-7):

²³⁰ The Chinese transcription of this name is based on the Mongolian form of the Persian *Ja'far Xwājah*, i. e., "Lord Ja'far," a Sayyid, a descendant of the Prophet. Cf. Paul PELLIOU, *TP* 28 (1932).427; 29 (1932).178; 31 (1932).163.

T'ai-tsu had a rift with Wang Han (Ong Qan) of the K'o-lieh 克烈, (Kere-[yid]). One evening Wang Han (Ong Qan) came, moving his troops surreptitiously. Taken by surprise and being [entirely] unprepared for [it], the army [of T'ai-tsu] was completely routed. T'ai-tsu straightway withdrew and fled. Those who went with [him were] only nineteen men [in number]. Cha-berh (Ĵabar) was included.

When they reached the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River 班朱尼河, their provisions were entirely exhausted and, [since the place was] desolate and remote, there was no way to obtain food. It happened that a single wild horse came northward. The prince Ha-cha-erh 哈札兒²³¹ (Qaĵar) shot it and killed [it]. Thereupon, they removed the hide to make a cauldron. They produced fire from a stone. They drew the water of the River. They boiled and ate it.²³²

T'ai-tsu raised his hands and looking up at Heaven swore, saying, "If I am able to achieve the 'Great Work' (= found the empire), I shall [always] share with you men 'the sweet and the bitter.'²³³ If I break this [my] word, may I be like the water of the River."²³⁴

Among officers and men there was none who was not moved to tears.

2) The biography of Chu-ch'ih-t'ai 术赤台²³⁵ (Ĵür[ĵitei) in the *Yüan shih* 120 (*ts'e* 38).8r7-10r6 (9r2-3):

Chu-ch'ih-t'ai (Ĵür[ĵitei), in the beginning accompanied [T'ai-tsu] and campaigned against the Ch'ieh-lieh-i 怯列亦 (Kereyi[d]). He started²³⁶ from Han-ha 罕哈 (Qal[a]qal[ĵid Eled]) and went through [the] Lake Pan-chen (Baljin[a]) 班真海子 [episode].²³⁷

3) The biography of Chen-hai 鎮海²³⁸ in the *Yüan shih* 120 (*ts'e* 38).10r7-11r9 (10r8-9):

²³¹ See note 46 above.

²³² I. e., the wild horse.

²³³ See note 109 above.

²³⁴ The meaning of these words is not immediately apparent. It may be that Činggis Qan meant: "May I be as helpless as this water which may be taken up and drunk." In other words, "May I be drunk up by others."

²³⁵ In *Ĵürĵitei* we have an alternate form of the more usual *Ĵürĵedei* of the *Secret History*. See note 54 above.

²³⁶ Lit., "led the way." For the *locus classicus* of 啓行 (*ch'i hsing*) cf. LEGGE, *op. cit.* 4.283.

²³⁷ This text would seem to place the Baljuna episode after the battle in the Qalaqalĵid Sands. In this respect it coincides with the sequence of events as narrated by Rašid al-Dīn. See note 212 above.

²³⁸ This was the famous *protonotarius* of Güyüg called Chingay by Fr. Iohannes de Plano Carpini in his *Ystoria Mongalorum*, Cap. IX, pp. 119 and 123. Cf. P. Anastasius VAN DEN WYNGAERT, O.F.M., *Sinica Franciscana*, Volumen I, 1929, pp. 119 and 123. Paul PELLiot wrote his name "Činqai" in the *TP* 15 (1914).628-629 and "Činqai" in the *TP* 28 (1932).418, not to mention other references. A discussion of the original form of the name of the *protonotarius* is beyond the scope of this article, but elsewhere I may have the opportunity to demonstrate that it was Čingqai.

Chen-hai [was of] the Ch'ieh-lieh-t'ai 怯烈台 (Kere[yi]tei) clan. In the beginning as a military-rank officer (軍伍長) he accompanied T'ai-tsu and participated in drinking the water of the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River 班珠尼河.

4) The biography of Su-pu-t'ai 速不台 ²³⁹ (Sübütei) in the *Yüan shih* 121 (*ts'e* 38) .1r4-8v8 (1r9-1v1):

When T'ai-tsu was at the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River, Ha-pan 哈班 ²⁴⁰ (Qaban) drove [thither] a flock of sheep to present [to him]. Encountering robbers, he was held [by them]. Hu-lu-hun 忽魯渾 ²⁴¹ (Quruγun) and Su-pu-t'ai (Sübütei) arrived straightway and stuck [1v] them with [their] spears. Both men and horses were overturned. The rest of the band escaped and fled. And so they extricated [their] father from danger and [thus] the sheep succeeded in arriving at the place where the [imperial] quarters were located.

5) The biography of Hsüeh-pu-t'ai 雪不台 ²⁴² (Söbütei) in the *Yüan shih* 122 (*ts'e* 38) .10r8-12r2 (10v1-3):

T'ai-tsu first established [his] "rising capital" (興都) ²⁴³ at the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River 班朱泥河, which is now [known as] the Lung-chü River 龍居河.²⁴⁴ Ha-pan (Qaban) drove [thither] a flock of sheep to present as tribute. Encountering robbers he was held [by them]. Hsüeh-pu-t'ai (Söbütei) and his elder brother Hu-lu-hun (Quruγun) arrived straightway. Sticking the robbers [with their spears] they killed them. The band dispersed and fled. [Thus] Ha-pan (Qaban) succeeded in presenting [his] sheep at the place where the Emperor was [residing].²⁴⁵

²³⁹ This transcription of the name of the great general is based on a current pronunciation of the period. It alternates with that of *Söbütei* below. *Sübütei* ~ *Söbütei* < *Sübētei* ~ *Söbētei* < *Sübe'tei* ~ *Söbe'tei* < *Sübegetei* ~ *Söbegetei*. In the passage of *-ē-* > *-ü-* we have an instance of progressive assimilation which is so extremely common in Mongolian phonology. Cf. also PELLIOR, "A propos des Comans," p. 163, n. 1.

For a biography of *Sübütei* in a western language, cf. ABEL-RÉMUSAT, "Souboutai, Général mongol," *Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques, ou recueil de morceaux de critique et de mémoires relatifs aux religions, aux sciences, aux coutumes, à l'histoire et à la géographie des nations orientales*, Tome second, Paris, 1829, pp. 89-97. Cf. also Herbert A. GILES, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, London-Shanghai, 1898, p. 680, no. 1784.

²⁴⁰ I. e., the father of *Sübütei*. His coming to the Baljuna with a flock of sheep is singularly similar to that of Asan with his thousand wethers.

²⁴¹ This name seems to be the word which means "Finger."

²⁴² See note 239 above. The existence of two biographies of *Sübütei* in the *Yüan shih* is well-known evidence of the haste with which it was compiled by the Ming historiographers. Cf., e. g., PELLIOR, "A propos des Comans," p. 163.

²⁴³ T'u Chi seems to have regarded these words as constituting the name of the first capital established by Činggis Qan. Cf. PELLIOR and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 48, n. 1.

²⁴⁴ Cf. PELLIOR and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 47, n. 1. Cf. also PELLIOR, *TP* 31 (1934). 166-167.

²⁴⁵ See pages 406-407 below for a still earlier account of this event.

6) The biography of Ha-san-na 哈散納 ²⁴⁶ in the *Yüan shih* 122 (*ts'ê* 38).18r8-18v7 (18r9-10):

Ha-san-na [was of] the Ch'ieh-lieh-i (Kereyi[d]) clan. In the time of T'ai-tsu he campaigned under [him] against Wang Han (Ong Qan) and rendered meritorious service. [T'ai-tsu] ordered [him] to participate in drinking the water of the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River. Moreover, he said, "Those who jointly drink this water with me shall be employed by me [from one] generation [to another]."

7) The biography of A-chu-lu 阿朮魯 ²⁴⁷ (?Ajlulu[γ]) in the *Yüan shih* 123 (*ts'ê* 38).4v4-10 (4v5-6):

A-chu-lu (?Ajlulu[γ]) [was of] the Meng-ku 蒙古 (Mongγol) clan. In the time of T'ai-tsu, he ²⁴⁸ ordered [him] to participate in drinking the water of the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River.

8) The biography of Shao-ku-erh 紹古兒 ²⁴⁹ (?Ša'uγur) in the *Yüan shih* 123 (*ts'ê* 38).5r1-5v6 (5r2-3):

Shao-ku-erh (?Ša'uγur) [was of] the Mai-li-chi-t'ai 麥里吉台 (Mergitei) clan. He served T'ai-tsu who ordered [him] to participate in drinking the water of the Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River.

9) The biography of Su-ko 速哥 ²⁵⁰ (Süge) in the *Yüan shih* 124 (*ts'ê* 39).9r9-11v7 (9r10-9v2):

Su-ko (Süge) [was of] the Ch'ieh-lieh 怯烈 (Kere[yid]) clan of the Meng-ku (Mongγol).²⁵¹ It is generally said that he was related to the Li-T'ang 李唐 ²⁵² through the marriage of one of his ancestors.

His father Huai-tu 懷都 (Qaidu) served T'ai-tsu. Once [9v], in his company, he drank the water of the Pan-chu-ni ²⁵³ (Baljuni) River. Su-ko (Süge),

²⁴⁶ For a complete, annotated translation of this biography, cf. Paul PELLIOU, "Une ville musulmane dans la Chine du Nord sous les Mongols," *JA* 211 (1927).261-279 (pp. 264-268).

²⁴⁷ My reconstruction of this name is tentative. (?Ajlulu[γ] is also mentioned in the biography of his grandson Qaidu in the *Yüan shih* 131 (*ts'ê* 41).17v7-19v6 (17v8). See page 401 below.

²⁴⁸ I. e., T'ai-tsu.

²⁴⁹ My reconstruction of this name is tentative.

²⁵⁰ The name *Süge* seems to be an alternate form of *Süke* "Axe."

²⁵¹ For the use of *Meng-ku* (*Mongγol*) as an attribute of tribal names cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

²⁵² I. e., the T'ang dynasty (618-907) of which the founder was Li Yüan 李淵. Cf. Robert des ROTOURS, *Le Traité des examens, traduit de la Nouvelle Histoire des T'ang* (chap. xlv, xlv), Paris, 1932 [= *Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, Volume II*], p. 348, for the dates of his ascension, abdication, and death.

²⁵³ The text has *Pan-chu-chü* (居), an obvious error for *Pan-chu-ni* (尼). Cf. also PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

as a man, outwardly looked simple, but inwardly he really was firm and resourceful.

10) In the biography of T'u-t'u-ha 土土哈²⁵⁴ (Tu[γ]tuγa) in the *Yüan shih* 128 (*ts'e* 40).14r2-18v2 (17r4-7):

In the seventh moon, in the autumn [. . . of the twenty-sixth year . . . of Chih-yüan 至元 (19 July-16 August 1289)], when Shih-tsu 世祖²⁵⁵ made a tour of inspection along the Northern Frontier,²⁵⁶ he summoned [him]²⁵⁷ to audience and comfortingly instructed him saying, "Formerly T'ai-tsu drank the water of the Pan-chu (Balju[na])²⁵⁸ River with those of his subjects who had shared hardships with [him] in order to commemorate [their] merits. [Our] experiences of the present day (= these days) [being such], how we need to be ashamed of ourselves [in comparison with] men of former times. May you do your best!"²⁵⁹

When he returned to the capital 京師, there was a grand banquet [in celebration of the successful conclusion of the campaign].

11) The biography of A-t'a-hai 阿塔海²⁶⁰ (?A[γ]taqai) in the *Yüan shih* 129 (*ts'e* 40).9v9-11r8 (9v10-10r1):

A-t'a-hai (?A[γ]taqai) was a Sun-tu-ssu 遜都思 (Suldus) [tribes]man. His grandfather [was] T'ai-hai Pa-tu-erh 塔海拔都兒²⁶¹ (Tayai Bādur). Brave and courageous he was skilled in battle. Once, in the company of T'ai[10r]-tsu he participated in drinking the water of the Hei-ho 黑河 ("Black River").²⁶²

²⁵⁴ For the reconstruction of this name I follow Paul PELLIOU, "A propos des Comans," *JA* 15 (1920).125-185 (p. 164, n. 1). Cf. also Paul PELLIOU, "Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold," *TP* 27 (1930).12-56 (p. 24).

²⁵⁵ Cf. note 114 above.

²⁵⁶ I. e., in Mongolia proper.

²⁵⁷ I. e., Tu[γ]tuγa.

²⁵⁸ It is difficult to say whether we should restore the syllable *-na* or the syllable *-ni* or regard this transcription as one based on a form *Balju* of which, in the opinion of PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 43, *Baljuna* would be "une forme secondaire."

²⁵⁹ The first translation of the words 何愧昔人 would appear to be: "Why should we be ashamed [in comparison with] the men of former times?"—the implication being that we are as good as they. However, on the basis of the general context, it would appear to mean the opposite: "I am the Qayan. Many people went over to Qaidu, but you stayed with me through thick and thin."

²⁶⁰ My reconstruction of this name is tentative. It would appear to be a derivative in *-qai* of *Aγta* "Gelding."

²⁶¹ This reference to Tayai Bādur or Tayai Ba'atur as he is called in the *Secret History* (cf., e.g., §186) is particularly valuable as evidence in support of the historicity of the Baljuna covenant in that we know from §186 of the *Secret History* that Tayai Ba'atur not only participated in the defeat of the Kereyid, but was given one hundred ĵirgin by Činggis Qan because of his distinguished service.

²⁶² For this purely Chinese name designating the Baljuna cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 44, n. 1.

12) The biography of Huai-tu 懷都 (Qaidu) in the *Yüan shih* 131 (*ts'ê* 41).17v7-19v6 (17v8):

Huai-tu (Qaidu) [was of] the Wo-lu-na-t'ai 斡魯納台²⁶³ (Oruna[r]tai) clan. His grandfather, A-chu-lu (?Aǰulu[γ]), had participated in drinking the water of the Hei-ho ("Black River") with T'ai-tsu.

13) The biography of Mai-li 麥里²⁶⁴ (Meli[g]) in the *Yüan shih* 132 (*ts'ê* 41).6v7-7r6 (N. B. the margin has 七之八) (6v8-9):

Mai-li (Meli[g]) [was of] the Ch'e-wu-t'ai 徹兀臺²⁶⁵ ([?]Če'ütei) clan. His grandfather Hsüeh-li-chien Na-yen 雪里堅那顏²⁶⁶ ([?]Sörġen Noyan), in the company of T'ai-tsu, battled with Wang Han (Ong Qan) and participated in drinking the water of the Pan-chen (Baljin) River 班眞河.²⁶⁷

14) The biography of YEH-LÜ T'u-hua 耶律禿花²⁶⁸ in the *Yüan shih* 149 (*ts'ê* 45).22v10-25r1 (23r1-3):

Yeh-lü T'u-hua [was] a Ch'i-tan 契丹 (Qitan) man. For generations [his family] had resided at Huan-chou. At the time of T'ai-tsu, he came at the head of his multitude to submit. When the Great Army entered the confines of the Chin 金, he served as guide [with the result that] one captured very many of the horses which he had [previously] pastured.²⁶⁹ Later he waited upon T'ai-tsu and participated in drinking the water of the Pan-chu²⁷⁰ (Bal-ju[na]) River.

15) The biography of YEH-LÜ A-hai 耶律阿海²⁷¹ in the *Yüan shih* 150 (*ts'ê* 45).9r1-11r1 (9r8-10):

²⁶³ The character 兒 (*erh*) has been omitted from this transcription which properly should be *Wo-lu-na-erh-t'ai*.

²⁶⁴ For another transcription of the name *Melig* < Persian (< Arabic) *M(a)l(i)k* "King," cf. HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73, n. 7.

²⁶⁵ Although the text has 徹兀臺 Ch'e-wu-t'ai, such a tribal name is unknown to us. If the character 徹 (*ch'e*) were an error for 散 (*san*) and the character 只 (*chih*) were restored immediately after it, *San-chih-wu-t'ai* would be a regular transcription of *Salji'utai*. Cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 399, n. 3. If this emendation of the text were correct, Üyer would not have been the only Salji'ud to be associated with Činggis Qan, as suggested by PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 400, n. 3.

²⁶⁶ To have had the title *Noyan*, Sörġen must have been a person of some eminence. Although the reconstruction of the name *Sörġen* seems certain, its etymology is obscure.

²⁶⁷ For this form of the name of the river cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 43, n. 1.

²⁶⁸ For this man who, after serving under Muqali, was named "Grand Preceptor," cf. Paul PELLIOU, "Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold," *TP* 27 (1930).12-56 (pp. 46-47). See also note 279 below.

²⁶⁹ Or, "which [the Chin] had pastured."

²⁷⁰ The character 木 (*mu*) is an error for 朮 (*chu*). For the problem of the reconstruction of this name see note 258 above.

²⁷¹ For this man, the elder brother of YEH-LÜ T'u-hua, cf. also PELLIOU, *op. cit.*,

When the cyclical year was *jen-hsü* 壬戌 [1202], Wang K'o-han (Ong Qayan) revolted and, in league [with others], plotted to succeed T'ai-tsu. T'ai-tsu with those members of the imperial clan and "grand ministers" who had shared his joys and sorrows drank the water of the Pan-chun (Bal-jun) River 辨屯河²⁷² and [thus] made a covenant. As for A-hai, both [he,] the elder brother, and [T'u-hua 秃花,] the younger brother, participated in it.

On the basis of the texts which have been cited from the *Secret History*, the *Yüan shih*, and the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu*, we may draw up the following alphabetized list of participants in the Baljuna covenant with their tribal or ethnic identifications:

Ajulu[γ](?)—Mongγol
 Botu~Butu—Ikires
 Chen-hai (Čingqai)—Kereyid
 Činggis Qan—Mongγol
 Ha-san-na—Kereyid
 Ĵabar QoĴe—Mohammedan
 Ĵürcedei~Ĵü[r]čitei—Mangγud
 Qaidu—Kereyid
 Qasar—Mongγol
 Sörgeŋ(?) Noyan—Če'ütei(?)
 Ša'uγur(?)—Merkid
 Tayai Bādur—Suldus
 Yeh-lü A-hai—Qitan
 Yeh-lü T'u-hua—Qitan

In this list of fourteen I have included Činggis Qan. CH'ÏEN Ta-hsin, as we have seen, included Toqu (~Tuqu), the son of Qasar, but it is doubtful, I think, that even were he present with the others—the *Secret History* specifically states that Qasar left him in the hands of Ong Qan—he would have participated in the covenant. WEI Yüan, as we have seen, included Boroyul (~Boro'ul), etc., but I have not found the source of his authority for so doing.

The name of still another participant was furnished by the illustrious Russian historian W. BARTHOLD who, for his part, described

pp. 47-49. For an explanation of his personal name *A-hai* cf. also PELLiot, *op. cit.*, p. 49, n. 1.

²⁷² For this transcription in which the character 屯 is read *chun*, not *t'un* cf. PELLiot and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 43, n. 1.

the Baljuna episode on page 875b of his entry “ČINGIZ-KHAN” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, Vol I, A-D,²⁷³ pp. 856-862a, as follows:

. . . The army collected by Djamūka was soon defeated and scattered; but he afterwards succeeded in winning the confidence of the Sengün and his father and estranging them from their former ally. This breach had the gravest consequences for Temüčün; abandoned by almost all his followers, he had to retire with a small body of faithful retainers to the small lake of Bāldjiyūna and drink its bad water. Nevertheless he succeeded in cunningly baffling his opponents and surprising them by an unexpected attack. . . .

The faithful few, who had remained true to Temüčün even in the dark days at Bāldjiyūna, afterwards enjoyed great privileges as “Bāldjiyūntū” in the empire founded by Čingis-Khan. It is important to note that three Muḥammadans are mentioned among them: Dja‘far-Khodja, Ḥasan and Dānishmand-Ḥād̲j̲ib; the two latter accompanied their sovereign many years later on his campaign against the kingdom of the Kh‘ārizmshāh and rendered great service to him by carrying on the negotiations between him and the inhabitants of these lands; Dānishmand must have been much younger than Temüčün, for he survived him by 25 years and is mentioned as tutor to his grandson Melik (one of Ügedei’s sons). These Muhammadans could only have come to this part of the world as traders; . . .

BARTHOLD’S “Dja‘far-Khodja” is the “Ĵabar Qoĵe” of the *Yüan shih* and his “Ḥasan” is the “Asan” of the *Secret History*, but his “Dānishmand-Ḥād̲j̲ib” does not seem to be attested in the Chinese sources. From the very fact that BARTHOLD mentions “Dānishmand-Ḥād̲j̲ib” as one of the three Mohammedans who participated in the Baljuna covenant, it is obvious that a definitive solution—positive or negative—of the problem of the Baljuna covenant is out of the question until the relevant Arabic and Persian sources are carefully explored.

Turning our attention now to those Chinese sources in prose and verse which, in my opinion, are of the greatest importance in terms of the historicity of the Baljuna covenant—some of which, as we shall see, are parallel with the accounts which appear in some of the biographies in the *Yüan shih*—, let us examine them in a sequence which is chronological or approximately so.

The earliest Chinese reference to the Baljuna episode is found in

²⁷³ Leyden-London, 1913.

an author's note in the "Chung-t'ang shih-chi" 中堂事記 ²⁷⁴ ["Mémoires of the Affairs of the *Chung-t'ang*"] by WANG Yün 王惲 ²⁷⁵ (1228-1304) in the *Ch'ü-chien hsien-sheng ta-ch'üan wen-chi* 秋澗先生大全文集 ²⁷⁶ 80-82 (*ts'e* 20), where we read (82. 8v6-9r1):

On *hsin-ssu* 辛巳, the twenty-first day [of the seventh moon, the autumn, of the second year of Chung-t'ung 中統 (18 August 1261)] there was an Imperial Directive:

"[As to] the boy of [Our] 'hereditary servant' (世臣),²⁷⁷ Mai-chu 買住 (Maiju),²⁷⁸

The family name of T'u-hua 秃花 *t'ai-fu* 太傅 ²⁷⁹ was YEH-LÜ 耶律. In the time of the former Chin 金 he was garrisoning Huan-chou 桓州.²⁸⁰ His office [was that of] *ai-li-te* 愛里德.²⁸¹ [This] is *shou-shu-chang* 守戍長 ("garrison chief") in Chinese. Later, with eighteen [other] men, in the company of T'ai-tsu shen-yüan huang-ti 太祖神元皇帝, he participated in drinking from the Hei-ho-tzu 黑河子 ("Black River"). In [the number of] the 'prime meritorious' (元勳)²⁸² who assisted the Mandate, His Excellency was one of them. Mai-chu (Maiju) [was] the second son of the *t'ai-fu*. He died at an early age. His son,

²⁷⁴ For other citations from this valuable source for early Yüan history cf. Cleaves, "A Chancellery Practice . . .," p. 506, n. 45, and Antoine MOSTAERT and Francis Woodman CLEAVES, "Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes," *HJAS* 15 (1952).419-506 (p. 489).

²⁷⁵ Although I have previously read this name WANG Hui, e.g., in "A Chancellery Practice . . .," p. 505, n. 40, and "Trois documents mongols . . .," p. 489, the reading WANG Yün seems preferable.

²⁷⁶ *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* edition.

²⁷⁷ For this term cf. Francis Woodman CLEAVES, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1338 in Memory of Jigünteï," *HJAS* 14 (1951).1-104 (p. 48, n. 89).

²⁷⁸ The name *Maiju* appears to be an alternate form of *Baiju*, the alternation of *b* and *m* being very common in Mongolian. Cf., e.g., *bečün ~ mečün* "monkey." For mention of *Maiju* in the biography of YEH-LÜ T'u-hua cf. the *Yüan shih* 149 (*ts'e* 45). 23r8 and 9.

²⁷⁹ I. e., "Grand Preceptor." Cf. PELLIOU, "Notes sur le 'Turkestan' . . .," p. 47. See also note 268 above.

²⁸⁰ This was "90 li northwest of T'ung-kou 洞溝 in Chi-an 輯安 County, Liaoning." Cf. Karl A. WITTFOGEL and FÊNG Chia-shêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125)*, Philadelphia, 1949 [= *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge*, New Series—Volume 36, 1946], p. 70.

²⁸¹ This is a Jürčen word.

²⁸² For this term cf. Francis Woodman CLEAVES, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 in Memory of Chang Ying-jui," *HJAS* 13 (1950).1-131 (p. 36, n. 38) and CLEAVES, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1338 . . .," p. 48, n. 88.

Ming-an-tai-erh 明安歹兒 (Ming'andar),²⁸³ is now at the age of three and ten. The present *Wei-hui-lu tsung-kuan* 衛輝路總管,²⁸⁴ YEH-LÜ Han-chieh 耶律漢傑,²⁸⁵ is his elder brother.

[since by] Sacred Directive [We] have already issued instructions that he be allowed to visit [his] family (= to go home), let him be given a document to take with him."

The text of the patent reads:

"At the beginning of the foundation of Our Dynasty, thy grandfather contributed constructive²⁸⁶ labor. [Although] people now do not see [him], how could [his] service be forgotten? Although thou art not yet an adult in body, [can We] in Our heart bear [the thought of] letting [him] be without a successor? [Thou] mayest now receive the erstwhile title in order to make manifest the 'prime meritorious.' As soon as [thou] hast reached the years of maturity, [9r] [thou] shalt be allowed to take over the duties of the office."

This testimony of WANG Yün, here cited for the first time, cannot be assessed too highly. Not only is it earlier than that in the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu*, not to mention the *Yüan shih*, but it is from the pen of a man whose credibility is not open to question. GROUSSET, we recall, interpreted the silence of the *Secret History* on the Baljuna covenant to be "proof, it seems, that the legend had not yet crystallized in Mongolia even thirteen years after the death of the conqueror, that which renders more subject to criticism the later Persian and Chinese echoes of it." For my part, I find this interpretation unconvincing and undemonstrable. The *Secret History*, regrettably, is silent on many events and many persons of which the historicity is not to be doubted.²⁸⁷ While we may deplore the failure of the author (or authors) of the *Secret History* to mention the episode of the covenant as such, although including certain elements of the attendant circumstances, in view of the testimony of WANG Yün, I find it difficult to imagine that the covenant was not historical.

²⁸³ The name *Ming'andar* < **Mingyandar* is a derivative in *-dar* of *Mingyan* "Thousand." It means "The Thousand." There is no mention of him in the biography of YEH-LÜ T'u-hua.

²⁸⁴ I. e., "the *tsung-kuan* of the Wei-hui Circuit." For this circuit cf. the *Yüan shih* 58 (*ts'e* 19).18v5-8.

²⁸⁵ There is no mention of him in the biography of YEH-LÜ T'u-hua.

²⁸⁶ For an example of the *Shih ching* expression 經營 (*ching ying*) cf. LEGGE, *op. cit.* 4.361.

²⁸⁷ For example, there is no mention of the future *protonotarius* Chen-hai nor of the immortal YEH-LÜ Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚才.

We have already read in the passages cited from each of the biographies of Sübütei~Söbütei how he and his elder brother Quruγun rescued their father Qaban from a band of robbers as he made his way to Lake Baljuna with a flock of sheep for the larder of Činggis Qan. While it cannot be unequivocally asserted on the basis of these passages that Qaban brought the sheep to Činggis Qan on the occasion of the Baljuna covenant, the circumstances would suggest that he did so. Be that as it may, it is important to note that an account paralleling those in these passages in the respective biographies is to be found in the text of an inscription by the same WANG Yün, entitled "Ta Yüan kuang-lu-ta-fu p'ing-chang-cheng-shih Wu-liang-shih hsien-miao pei-ming" 大元光祿大夫平章政事兀良氏先廟碑銘 ("Epitaph on the Stele at the Ancestral Temple of Wu-liang[-hai] [Uriyang(qai)],²⁸⁸ *Kuang-lu-ta-fu*,²⁸⁹ *P'ing-chang-cheng-shih*,²⁹⁰ under the Great Yüan") and found in the *Ch'iu-chien hsien-sheng ta-ch'üan wen-chi* 50 (*ts'e* 14).1r2-14r2, where we read (1v9-2r2):

His²⁹¹ grandson in the third generation, Ho-ch'ih-wen Pa-tu 合赤溫拔都²⁹² (Qači'un Bādu[r]), begot two sons called Ha-pen 哈班 (Qaban) and Ha-pu-li 哈不里²⁹³ (Qabul). Ha-pan (Qaban) begot two sons. The elder was called Hu-lu-hun 忽魯渾 (Quruγun). The younger was called Su-pu-t'ai 速不臺 (Sübütei).

At the time when T'ai-tsu huang-ti was at Lake Pan-chu-na (Baljuna) 班術納海,²⁹⁴ their father Ha-pan (Qaban) once took a flock of sheep to feed

²⁸⁸ This inscription is in memory of A-chu 阿朮 (Aju), a descendant of Sübütei (~Söbütei), of the Uriyangqai.

²⁸⁹ This title was the seventh of the forty-two honorary titles granted civil officials. In rank it was secondary first grade. Cf. the *Yüan shih* 91 (*ts'e* 30).17v1.

²⁹⁰ For this office cf. the *Yüan shih* 85 (*ts'e* 28).3r10-3v10. Cf. also Francis W. CLEAVES, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1382 in Memory of Prince Hindu," *HJAS* 12 (1949).1-133 (p. 46, n. 45).

²⁹¹ This refers to Po-hu-tu Pa-tu 孛忽都拔都 (?Boqudu Bādu[r]) in the preceding line (1r8).

²⁹² The name *Qači'un* (< *Qačirγun*), a derivative in -γun of *Qači*, is the same as, for example, that of one of the seven sons of Menen Tudun, an ancestor of Činggis Qan. Cf. the *Secret History* §45. For its etymology cf. PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 395, n. 2.

²⁹³ The name *Qabul* is the same as, for example, that of the great-grandfather of Činggis Qan. Cf., e.g., the *Secret History* §48.

²⁹⁴ This is one of, at least, two examples in the Chinese sources which contradict the statement by PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 43, n. 1: "La forme Baljuna ne se rencontre en chinois que dans l'*Histoire secrète*. . . ." See also note 308 below.

the Emperor. Midway he encountered robbers and was seized [by them]. Hu-lu-hun (Quruγun) and his younger brother arrived straightway and stuck the robbers with [their] spears and killed [2r] them. The rest of the band escaped and fled. And so they extricated [their] father from danger and the food convoy finally reached His Majesty. From this [time on] the reputation for filiality (孝) and righteousness (義) of the elder brother and the younger brother was [much] heard among the northern tribes.

Although, as we have seen, it is specifically stated in both the *Ch'in-cheng-lu* and the *Yüan shih* that Botu of the Ikires participated in the Baljuna covenant, it is strange that there is no reference to this fact in his biography in the *Yüan shih* 118 (*ts'e* 37). 7r9-8v1, especially since there is reference to it in the text of an inscription which seems to have served as a source for the biography in the *Yüan shih*. I refer to the "Fu-ma Ch'ang-wang shih-te pei" 駙馬昌王世德碑 ("Stele [in Commemoration] of the Ancestral Virtues²⁹⁵ of the Prince of Ch'ang,²⁹⁶ Imperial Son-in-Law") by CHANG Shih-kuan 張士觀²⁹⁷ in the *Kuo-ch'ao wen-lei* 國朝文類²⁸⁹ 25 (*ts'e* 7). 10v1-13v6, where we read (11r6-11v9):

According to the genealogy the princely family is [of] the I-ch'i-lieh 亦啓列 (Ikire[s]) clan. He goes by his *hsiao-tzu* 小字²⁹⁹ A-shih 阿失³⁰⁰ (Aš).

Chung-wu 忠武³⁰¹ ("Loyal and Martial [Prince of Ch'ang]") early encountered the rising fortune [of our dynasty]. He accompanied T'ai-tsu huang-ti when he rose in the Northern Quarter and participated with the various heroes in drinking the water at the Hei-ho 黑河 ("Black River"). They mutually bound themselves in covenant and oath. He experienced³⁰² the expansion of the Imperial Domain.

As to Chen-hai of the Kereyid, of whom the historicity has

²⁹⁵ I. e., "Glories."

²⁹⁶ See note 300 below.

²⁹⁷ For the partial translation of another piece by this writer who flourished early in the fourteenth century cf. Francis Woodman CLEAVES, "A Medical Practice of the Mongols in the Thirteenth Century," *HJAS* 17 (1954). 428-444 (pp. 438-440). Cf. also PELLIOU and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 45, n. 1, for a reference to the occurrence of *Hei-ho* ("Black River") in the present text.

²⁹⁸ *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* edition.

²⁹⁹ I. e., "little style" or "milk-name."

³⁰⁰ This name means "Food" in Turkish. Cf., e. g., C. BROCKELMANN, *Mittel-türkischer Wortschatz nach Mahmūd al-Kāšgaris Divān Luḡāt at-Turk*, Budapest-Leipzig, 1928 [= *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* I], pp. 13-14. An imperial son-in-law, Aš was invested Prince of Ch'ang in 1317. Cf. the *Yüan shih* 108 (*ts'e* 36). 4r.

³⁰¹ I. e., Botu. See note 69 above.

³⁰² I. e., shared in.

never been questioned, even though his name, unlike that of Botu, does not appear in the *Secret History*, there is the text of an inscription entitled “Yüan ku yu-ch’eng-hsiang Ch’ieh-lieh Kung shen-tao-pei ming” 元故右丞相怯烈公神道碑銘 (“Epitaph on the Spirit-Way Stele [in Memory] of the Late Yu-ch’eng-hsiang,”³⁰³ His Excellency Ch’ieh-lieh (Kere[yid]), under the Yüan”) by Hsü Yu-jen 許有壬³⁰⁴ (1287-1364) in *chüan* 10 of the *Kuei-t’ang hsiao-kao* 圭塘小藁³⁰⁵ in the *San-i-t’ang ts’ung-shu* 三怡堂叢書³⁰⁶ (*ts’e* 22).5r5-8r1. Hsü Yu-jen whose credibility, it seems to me, is undoubted referred three times to the Baljuna covenant in the text of the inscription, twice in the text in prose and once in the text in verse.

The first of the two prose references is the source of the corresponding passage in the biography of Chen-hai in the *Yüan shih*. It reads (5v7-9):

In [the cyclical year] *ping-yin* 丙寅 [1206] he was made captain of a hundred men (長百夫)³⁰⁷ and accompanied the royal princes and the sundry officials to the Pan-chu-wu-na 班竹兀那 (Balju’una)³⁰⁸ Hei-ho 黑河 (“Black River”) and participated in the covenant.

The second prose reference reads as follows (7r6-8):

It is often said that to have drunk water [from] the Hei-ho 黑河 (“Black River”) constituted [the mark of] the highest meritorious companions [of T’ai-tsu]. His Excellency really was one of them. The *National History* (國史) known as *T’o-pi-ch’ih-yen* 脫必赤顏 (*Tobčiyān*) is most secret. Unless one has merit, he is not recorded, but His Excellency’s name is found therein.³⁰⁹

In the verse of the epitaph proper, Hsü Yu-jen recapitulated the prose references in the following manner (7v2-3):

³⁰³ I. e., “Minister of the Right.”

³⁰⁴ For the translation of his biography in the *Yüan shih* 182 (*ts’e* 54).7v1-12v7, cf. Francis Woodman CLEAVES, “The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1346,” *HJAS* 15 (1952).1-123 (pp. 46-53, n. 54).

³⁰⁵ For this work by Hsü Yu-jen cf. CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 26, n. 6.

³⁰⁶ I have used the edition of 1921.

³⁰⁷ I. e., a centurion.

³⁰⁸ See note 294 above. This form of the name is in itself extremely interesting, for it suggests a Mongolian original *Balju’una* < **Baljuṛyuna*. For another instance of -u ~ u’u < -uṛu in the early language, cf. the verb *turbi* ~ *tu’urbi* < *tuṛurbi* discussed by MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, pp. 474-475.

³⁰⁹ For a discussion of this extremely important passage in reference both to the *Tobčiyān* and the Baljuna covenant cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 484-485.

Wu-ho 於赫! [The most marvelous] achievement in the world!³¹⁰

The founding of the empire thereby³¹¹ began.

The covenant [at] the Hei-ho ("Black River")

Was as clear as white water.³¹²

Encompassed [by convenanters] in [his] carriage-tracks and campaigning
with them in [his] retinue,³¹³

What stronghold did he³¹⁴ not break down?

[Whose] merits in battle are said to be many? ³¹⁵

We, in truth, had him.³¹⁶

Although the passage which has been cited from the biography of T'u-t'u-ha (Tu[γ]tuya) in the *Yüan shih* is, as it stands, convincingly authoritative with its quotation of the words of Sečen Qayan, uttered but fifty-two years after the death of his grandfather, Činggis Qan, it is our good fortune to possess the immediate source not only of the passage in question but of the biography of T'u-t'u-ha (Tu[γ]tuya) as a whole. It is the "Chü-jung chün-wang shih-chi pei" 句容郡王世績碑³¹⁷ ("Stele [in Commemoration] of the Merits of the Family of the Chün-wang of Chü-jung") by Yü Chi 虞集³¹⁸ (1272-1348) in his *Tao-yüan hsüeh-ku-lu* 道園學古錄³¹⁹ 23 (ts'e 6) 7r5-15r7, where we read (9v2-5):

In the seventh moon [. . . of the twenty-sixth year . . . of Chih-yüan (19 July-16 August 1289)], when Shih-tsu personally made a tour of inspection along the Northern Frontier, he summoned the Prince³²⁰ to audience and comforted him, saying, "Formerly T'ai-tsu drank the water of the Pan-chu

³¹⁰ In the expression 代工 (*tai kung*), the character 代 (*tai*) = 世 (*shih*).

³¹¹ The use of 伊 in the sense of 以 is in imitation of *Shu ching* style.

³¹² These words constitute an allusion to the passage in the *Tso chuan* which reads (LEGGE 5.188, ll. 2-3) 公子曰, 所不與舅氏同心者, 有如白水. LEGGE rendered this (5.190, Par. 1, 1st.): "The prince said, 'Wherein I do not continue to be of the same mind as my uncle [Tszé-fan was the brother of the prince's mother], may the Spirit of this clear water punish me!'"

³¹³ I. e., "With such travelling companions and comrades in arms."

³¹⁴ I. e., T'ai-tsu or Činggis Qan.

³¹⁵ I. e., "Who was the most meritorious in battle?"

³¹⁶ I. e., "Our Excellency, in truth, was the one."

³¹⁷ This text is also found in the *Kuo-ch'ao wen-lei* 國朝文類 26 (ts'e 7) 7r4-18v7.

³¹⁸ For the biography of Yü Chi cf. the *Yüan shih* 181 (ts'e 54) 4r4-15r8. For references to him in Western Sinological literature cf. CLEAVES, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 . . .," p. 43, n. 24.

³¹⁹ *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* edition.

³²⁰ I. e., Tu[γ]tuya.

(Balju[na]) River with those of his subjects who had shared hardship with [him] in order to commemorate their merits. [Our] experiences of the present day (= these days) [being such], how we need to be ashamed of ourselves [in comparison with] men of former times. May you do your best!"

Hai-tu 海都 (Qaidu)³²¹ and others, having fought several losing battles and having learned that His Majesty was personally conducting the campaign, straightway withdrew his troops and departed.

Then the Imperial Carriage (= the Emperor) returned to [Ta]-tu [大]都³²² and there was a grand banquet [in celebration of the successful conclusion of the campaign].

Yü Chi being another trustworthy and dependable authority, who had access to materials which have long since disappeared, I do not hesitate to regard his quotation of the words of Sečen Qayan as *prima facie* evidence of the historicity of the Baljuna covenant.

Having cited all the official or semi-official Chinese sources relative to the Baljuna covenant of which I have cognizance, I now turn to Chinese sources in the domain of belles-lettres properly speaking—poems by Yüan poets of which the subject of one is none other than the Baljuna covenant.

The Arch. Palladii, it will be recalled, translated (*op. cit.*, p. 211) the verses of a poet cited by Hsü Sung: "« Нѣкогда были подвижники, воздвигавшіе престоль; съ великимъ трудомъ пролагали они путь сквозь тернія; клянясь, пили изъ грязной рѣки (воду).» " ["Formerly there were champions, who had set up a throne; with great labor they opened a way through the thorns; swearing, they drank from the dirty river (water)."] He did not, however, name the poet or the title of the poem. Dr. William HUNG (洪煥蓮), having most graciously joined me in my search for the original poem, found it on 5 October 1955. He communicated his discovery to me the following day.³²³ The impor-

³²¹ For Qaidu cf. HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 79, n. 1. For his dates (circa 1230-1301) *inter alia* cf. P. P. *apud* HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80, n. 1.

³²² In the text of the biography of Tu[γ]turya we find 京師 (*ching-shih*) "Capital." See page 400 above. It is probable, therefore, that the single word *tu* in this text should be taken as an abbreviation of *Ta-tu* rather than *Shang* (上)-*tu*.

³²³ It is a pleasure to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Dr. HUNG for the good counsel and material assistance which he has so generously given me in the course of my study of the historicity of the Baljuna covenant. Having touched on the question on pages 484-485 of his monumental article "The Transmission of the Book

tance of the poem for establishing the historicity of the Baljuna covenant cannot be overestimated. It is the fifth of the "Ching-ch'eng tsa-yen liu shou" 京城雜言六首³²⁴ ["Six Miscellaneous Poems on the Capital City"] by Nai-hsien 迺賢³²⁵ (born in 1310) of the Yüan, which are found in the collection of his poems entitled *Chin-t'ai-chi* 金臺集.³²⁶ The poem in question is found in *chüan* 1 (*ts'e* 53) .22v2-3. It reads as follows:

The tall plane-trees stretch up toward the crimson walls.³²⁷

The lofty buildings³²⁸ rise in mid-air.³²⁹

Swords and [other] pendants—how profuse!³³⁰

Carts and horses are like flowing water.³³¹

Formerly there were the ministers of the dynasty³³²

Who toiled to clear away the brambles.³³³

The covenant was established³³⁴ by drinking [from] the Hei-ho
黑河 ("Black River")

Known as *The Secret History of the Mongols* in *HJAS* 14 (1951) .433-492, he has followed the progress of the present study with the keenest of interest, discussing with me difficult passages in the Chinese texts and supplying additional references.

³²⁴ Cf. the *Chin-t'ai-chi* (see note 326 below) 1 (*ts'e* 53) .21v10-22v7.

³²⁵ This poet was a Ko-lo-lu 葛邏祿 (Qarlu[ql]) by origin. Cf., e.g., the prefaces to the *Chin-t'ai-chi* (see note 326 below) 1r1-6v10.

³²⁶ This work in two *chüan* is found in the *Sung-fen-shih ts'ung-k'an* 誦芬室叢刊 as edited by TUNG K'ang 董康.

³²⁷ The words 拱朱垣 (*kung chu-yüan*) literally mean "salute the crimson walls." By the use of the word *kung*, the poet tells us that the walls are higher than the trees. As to the expression *chu-yüan* ("crimson walls") designating the walls of the mansions of the grandees, the only example of it registered in the *P'ei-wen yün-fu* 佩文韻府 (Commercial Press edition), 523,1, is this very one.

³²⁸ I.e., the buildings in the compounds behind the walls.

³²⁹ Lit., "rise, leaning on the air."

³³⁰ I.e., there is a constant bustle of dignitaries coming and going.

³³¹ For the words 車馬如流水 (*Ch'e ma ju liu shui*) cf. the passage in the annals of the Empress MA 馬皇后 in the *Hou Han-shu* 10 (*ts'e* 5) .11v6-19v9, which reads (16r7-8): 車如流水, 馬如游龍. "The carts were like flowing water; the horses were like soaring dragons."

³³² The *locus classicus* of the words 社稷臣 (*she chi ch'en*) < 社稷之臣 (*she chi chih ch'en*) is in the *Lun-yü*. Cf. LEGGE, *op. cit.* 1.307, where they are translated: "a minister in direct connexion with the sovereign." In his note on page 308, however, LEGGE rendered them more literally as "'a minister of the altars to the spirits of the land and grain.'" As used by Nai-hsien, the words refer to the loyal companions of Činggis Qan, who helped him establish his dynastic fortune.

³³³ Such as Ong Qan, Jamuṛa, etc.

³³⁴ The words 歃血 (*sha hsiieh*) literally mean "to smear blood [on the mouth]." Their *locus classicus* is in the *Meng tzu*. Cf. LEGGE, *op. cit.* 2.437. Cf. also CHAVANNES, *op. cit.* 2 (1897) .414, n. 1.

And the rightful investitures³³⁵ are recorded in history.³³⁶

The nation is grateful for [their] meritorious service³³⁷

And the rewards reach [even] unto [their] descendants.

From this poem we learn that the descendants of those who participated in the Baljuna covenant were provided with special residences at the expense of the state. It is hardly likely that such a mark of distinction would have been accorded the descendants of presumed participants in a covenant which was but legendary. The poet writes as one for whom the Baljuna covenant was an accepted fact. There is nothing whatever in his manner of expressing himself to suggest that he was dealing with a legendary theme.

The second poem which reveals the sentiments of one who remained loyal to the Yüan after the advent of the Ming is the fourth of the "Hou wu-t'i wu shou" 後無題五首³³⁸ ("Five Later Poems Without Titles") by WANG Feng 王逢 (1319-1388)³³⁹ of Chiang-yin 江陰, found in the *Wu-ch'i chi* 梧溪集³⁴⁰ (4 下 23v6-24v3) in the *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* 知不足齋叢書³⁴¹ (ts'e 108-109), which reads as follows (24r7-9):

[Beyond] Chü-yung[-kuan] 居庸[關],³⁴² the strategic barrier,
almost impregnable,³⁴³

³³⁵ The words 剖券 (*p'ou ch'üan*) (lit., "to split the [iron] bond") constitute an allusion to the words 剖符 (*p'ou fu*) ("to split the tally") found in the *Shih chi* 8 (ts'e 4).32v3 and 130 (ts'e 30).15v4. CHAVANNES, *op. cit.* 2 (1897).388, translated the passage in which they occur in the first instance as follows: "Alors (l'empereur) examina les mérites (de chacun); il distribua des apanages aux vassaux et aux seigneurs² en leur remettant des insignes divisés.³" In note 2 on the same page CHAVANNES discussed the expression 諸列侯 (*chu-lieh-hou*) and in note 3 the word 剖 (*p'ou*). Cf. also the *Han shu* 1 上 (ts'e 1).8r10 for the corresponding passage. For the translation of the latter cf. HOMER H. DUBS, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan Ku* 1 (1938).111. Cf. also the *Han shu* 1 上 (ts'e 1).21r9 for the second occurrence. For the translation of the latter cf. DUBS, *op. cit.* 1 (1938).146.

³³⁶ For the term 青史 (*ch'ing-shih*) cf. the *Tz'u-hai* 辭海, 戌集, 211c.

³³⁷ The words 勳勞 (*hsün lao*) are from the *Meng tzu*. Cf. LEGGE, *op. cit.* 2.475.

³³⁸ Poems in which there is an expression of political sentiments frequently are left without titles.

³³⁹ I am indebted to Dr. HUNG for these dates.

³⁴⁰ This is a work in seven *chüan*.

³⁴¹ For this work cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 613a.

³⁴² For this famous pass north of Peking cf., e. g., Éd. CHAVANNES et Sylvain LÉVI,

On the Tower of Nostalgia (望鄉臺)³⁴⁴ the nostalgic are many.³⁴⁵

The sovereign's sentiments are not removed from the grass at the crimson steps [of the audience hall].³⁴⁶

[As to] the ancestors' oath, let one not forget the Hei-shui ho 黑水河 ("Black-Water River").

Between the Former and Later Yen LIU 炎劉³⁴⁷ the [dynastic] fortune rested.³⁴⁸

[Yet] the Eastern and Western Yüan Wei 元魏³⁴⁹ "passed away in a hundred years."³⁵⁰

"Note préliminaire sur l'inscription de Kiu-yong koan," *JA* 4(1894).354-373 (p. 354); Henri CORDIER, *TP* 6(1895).123; Henri CORDIER, *TP* 9(1898) (Supplément).53; and Éd. CHAVANNES, *TP* 9(1908).403, n. 1.

³⁴² Lit., "not easy to raze."

³⁴⁴ For the story of the *wang-hsing-t'ai* (lit., "watch-homeland-tower"), i.e., "the tower from which one watches (= longs for) his native land," cf. the *Tz'u-hai*, 辰集, 74a. As to the source of the story, it is found in the *Shu i chi* 述異記 by JEN Fang 任昉. Cf., e.g., the *Han-Wei ts'ung-shu* 漢魏叢書 (1791 edition) (*ts'e* 89), 卷下, 7r9-7v6. As to the first of the two lines there cited (7v3) from the "Huai chiu fu" 懷舊賦 ("Rhymeprose on [the Subject of] Thinking of Old [Friends]") by WANG Lang 王朗, it may be rendered: "The *t'ai* ('tower') [built at the place] where the general (= WANG Hui 王濬) [halted after he] had gone out of the pass." Although the reference to the *wang-hsiang-t'ai* in the *Shu i chi* is not found under the entry *wang-hsiang-t'ai* in the *P'ei-wen yün-fu* (Commercial Press edition), 408, 2, where it might properly be expected to be registered, it is, as I was informed by Mr. Achilles FANG, found under the entry WANG Hui, *op. cit.*, 2865, 2. Cf. also J. J. L. DUYVENDAK, "A Chinese 'Divina Commedia'," *TP* 41 (1952).255-316 (p. 266, n. 2).

³⁴⁵ I.e., Toyon Temür (1320-1370) of the Yüan and his followers. For Toyon Temür cf. CLEAVES, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 . . .," pp. 27-28, n. 2.

³⁴⁶ This is a reference to the grass which Sečen Qayan caused to be brought from Mongolia and set out before the audience hall in the palace in Daidu in order that his descendants be reminded of the frugality of the life of the steppe. See the poem by the Yüan painter K'o Chiu-ssu 柯九思, which is cited on pages 417-418 below.

For the term 丹墀 (*tan-ch'ih*) (lit., "cinnabar courtyard") cf. the explanation in the *Han kuan-i* 漢官儀 of YING Shao 應劭 (circa 140-206) in the *P'ing-chin-kuan ts'ung-shu* 平津館叢書 (*ts'e* 5), 上, 22v10-11, where it is said: "[As to] its sides, they paint the base with cinnabar. Hence, it is called *tan-ch'ih*." Cf. Herbert A. GILES, *A Chinese-English Dictionary (Second Edition, Revised & Enlarged)* (1912), p. 247, no. 1987. Cf. also *Tz'u-hai*, 子集, 96a. This and other texts relative to the term *tan-ch'ih* merit a careful study, as they present many problems.

³⁴⁷ I.e., the Eastern (206-8 B.C.) and Western (25-220 A.D.) Han 漢. In the name Yen LIU, LIU is the surname of the founder of the Han dynasty and Yen ("Flame") is an epithet which refers to the fact that fire (火) was the dynasty's element. Cf., e.g., the *Tz'u-hai*, 巳集, 189b.

³⁴⁸ I.e., there was the interregnum of WANG Mang 王莽 (9-23 A.D.).

³⁴⁹ I.e., the Pei Wei 北魏 or "Northern Wei" (386-533 A.D.). In the name *Yüan Wei*, Yüan is the surname which YÜAN Hung-Yen 元宏延 (472-499) (canonized Hsiao-wen-ti 孝文帝) gave to the dynasty in 496. Cf. e.g., the *Tz'u-hai*, 子集 287b.

Saddened,³⁵¹ we shall not weigh³⁵² the causes of the rise and fall [of empires].

It only depends upon what [their] virtue was like at the time.³⁵³

The third poem from which I shall cite but three couplets was composed by YÜAN Chieh 袁桷 (1267-1327).³⁵⁴ Entitled "Shan-chih ch'ien-shih hsiung nan kuei shu huai po yün" 善之僉事兄南歸述懷百韻 ("A Hundred Rhymes Narrating My Thoughts Concerning the Return to the South of [My] Elder Brother, the *Ch'ien-shih*, Shan-chih")³⁵⁵ it is found in the *Ch'ing-jung chü-shih chi* 清容居士集³⁵⁶ 4 (*ts'e* 3).14v1-17v4. Not only is the poet's style very difficult, but his persistent use of allusions, some literary and some historical, makes its reading arduous. In the part of the poem in which there occur the couplets cited hereinafter the poet tells his friend TENG Wen-yüan 鄧文原,³⁵⁷ a colleague in the Bureau of Historiography, that, inasmuch as Činggis Qan started the vogue of remembering the services of his comrades in arms, particularly their military exploits, military officers and their families continue to send in the merits of their ancestors, all of which are kept on file. As the stone tablets are full of exaggerated claims, it has been necessary to ascertain the facts. For this reason, although it is not that the historiographers are not able to write, but because the task is so heavy, generally they cannot write even one biography in a whole year. Although YÜAN Chieh and his

³⁵⁰ I. e., "in but a lifetime." The words 百年過 (*po nien kuo*) constitute an allusion to the opening line in the poem by Po Chü-i 白居易 (772-846) entitled "Pieh Wei Su" 別韋蘇 ["Leaving WEI (Ying-wu 應物), (Prefect of) Su (-chou 州)"] which is found in the *Po-shih Ch'ang-ch'ing chi* 白氏長慶集 13 (*ts'e* 5).13r5-7. The line in question is the first of a couplet which reads: 百年愁裏過,萬感醉中來. "A hundred years (= a lifetime) have passed (= is spent) in sadness; ten thousand (= all sorts of) memories have come in drunkenness."

³⁵¹ Lit., "Sadness comes." In his use of the words 愁來 (*ch'ou lai*), the poet was inspired by their occurrence in the couplet by Po Chü-i. See note 350 above.

³⁵² Lit., "compare."

³⁵³ I. e., "The real criterion is how good they were at the time."

³⁵⁴ Cf. Janet Rinaker TEN BROECK and YIU Tung (尤桐), "A Taoist Inscription of the Yüan Dynasty: The Tao-chiao pei," *TP* 40 (1950-1951).60-122 (p. 71, n. 3).

³⁵⁵ I. e., TENG Wen-yüan 鄧文原. For this identification of the poet's colleague and friend I am indebted to Dr. HUNG. See note 357 below.

³⁵⁶ *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* edition.

³⁵⁷ I. e., Shan-chih. See note 355 above.

friend TENG Wen-yüan, for the most part, are in agreement, TENG Wen-yüan now goes home.

In the light of these sentiments expressed by YÜAN Chieh the following verses are especially significant in that they treat of an episode—that of the Baljuna covenant—of which the historicity was not questioned by the poet-historiographer. They read (15v7-9):

In the "dragon wilderness" ³⁵⁸ there began the Divine
 Might (神武) ³⁵⁹
 And in the "Nine Regions" (九域) ³⁶⁰ it cut down the
 weeds ³⁶¹ unto the extremities. ³⁶²
 The nobles [already] appeared to be imperial attendants
 And carried [each] arrows ³⁶³ and wore [each] a bow [garnished]
 with [tips of] ivory. ³⁶⁴
 Next to the River (河) they swore an oath and "split
 the tallies." ³⁶⁵
 When you spread out the map, ³⁶⁶ there appear [before your
 eyes] their fiefs. ³⁶⁷

³⁵⁸ The *locus classicus* of the term 龍荒 (*lung huang*) is in the "Hsü" 敍 in the *Han shu* 100 (*ts'è* 32), 下, 1r1-21v5, where we read (3r4): "[The chieftans of] the dragon wilderness and desert (幕 = 漠) north all came to Court."

³⁵⁹ I. e., "the Might of Činggis Qan."

³⁶⁰ This term originally was used in reference to the "Nine Provinces" (九州) of Ancient China. Cf., e. g., the *Tz'u-hai*, 子集, 109a-b.

³⁶¹ See note 333 above.

³⁶² I. e., "thoroughly."

³⁶³ The *locus classicus* of the words 挾矢 (*hsieh shih*) is in the "T'ien wen" 天問 ("Heavenly Questionings") in the *Ch'u-tz'u* 楚辭 3 (*ts'è* 2). 1r3-35v8 (29v7). A. CONRADY, *Das älteste Dokument zur chinesischen Kuntsgeschichte T'ien-wen* 天問, *Die „Himmelsfragen“ des K'üh Yüan* (Leipzig, 1931) [= China-Bibliothek der „Asia Major“ Band II], p. 137, "Str. 77. V. 151," translated them ". . . und legt den Pfeil auf (die Sehne)?"

³⁶⁴ The *locus classicus* of the words 象弭 (*hsiang-mi*) is in the *Shih ching*. Cf. LEGGE, *op. cit.* 4.261, where the line 象弭魚服 (*hsiang-mi yü-fu*) is rendered: "There are the bow with its ivory ends, and the seal-skin quiver." Cf. also LEGGE's note on page 261.

³⁶⁵ See note 335 above.

³⁶⁶ I. e., "on the map."

³⁶⁷ The words 賜履 (*tz'u li*) (lit., "to grant that upon which one treads [= territory]") are from a passage in the *Tso chuan* which reads: 賜我先君履. Cf. LEGGE, *op. cit.* 5.139, l. 3. In LEGGE's translation (*op. cit.* 5.140, Par. 1) the passage is rendered: "So there was given to our founder rule over the land, . . ." Cf. also Éd. CHAVANNES, "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole," *TP* 6 (1905). 1-42 (p. 9, n. 1).

The fourth poem from which I shall again cite but three couplets was composed by the same poet. Entitled "Tung-men hsing" 東門行 ³⁶⁸ ("Lamentation at the Eastern Gate"), it is found in the same *Ch'ing-jung chü-shih chi* 8 (*ts'ê* 4).17r10-17v9. Again the poet's style is very difficult and his allusions are not easy to identify. As to the part of the poem in which there occur the couplets to be cited, the poet describes what appears to have been a pageant in which the descendants of those who participated in the Baljuna covenant took part and then goes on to lament the fact that the Mongols have lost that sense of loyalty which they had in earlier days. The relevant couplets read (17v1-3):

The Divine Emperor (神皇),³⁶⁹ brandishing a spear, crossed
the Hei-ho 黑河 ("Black River").
The "Four Wings" (四廂),³⁷⁰ "holding up the sun,"³⁷¹
stood shoulder to shoulder.³⁷²
[They wore] golden robes,³⁷³ girdles [garnished] of pearls,³⁷⁴
and hats [studded with] seven gems.³⁷⁵
[Because of] the "splitting of the tallies"³⁷⁶ and the "girdle and
whetstone"³⁷⁷ [their] service is indestructible.³⁷⁸

³⁶⁸ I have not succeeded in determining to what gate the poet makes reference.

³⁶⁹ I. e., Činggis Qan.

³⁷⁰ I. e., "the Four Heroes." See note 220 above. The term 四廂 (*ssu hsiang*) is used here as a synonym of the more usual 四傑 (*ssu chieh*) "Four Braves."

³⁷¹ For numerous examples of the words 捧日 (*feng jih*) in Chinese literature cf. the *P'ei-wen yün-fu* (Commercial Press edition), 3573, 1.

³⁷² The words 肩相摩 (*chien hsiang mo*) literally mean "the shoulders rubbed one another." The same words are used in the *Tz'u-hai*, 未集, 181d, in the definition of the expression 肩摩 (*chien mo*) which first occurs in the *Chan-kuo-ts'ê* 戰國策. Cf. the *Chan-kuo-ts'ê chiao-chu* 戰國策校注 4 (*ts'ê* 3).9v3.

³⁷³ I. e., robes embroidered with golden threads.

³⁷⁴ The only example of the words 珠縈 (*chu jung*) registered in the *P'ei-wen yün-fu* (Commercial Press edition), 1189, 1, is this very one.

³⁷⁵ For the expression 七寶 (*ch'i pao*) of Buddhist origin cf. the *Tz'u hai*, 子集, 18d. For the translation of a text pertaining to Mongolian headgear cf. Francis Woodman CLEAVES, "Tomur-a / T'o-mu-hua," *HJAS* 17 (1954) 445-452 (pp. 450-451).

³⁷⁶ See note 335 above.

³⁷⁷ The words 帶厲 (*tai li*) constitute an allusion to the passage in the "Kung-ch'en piao" 功臣表 ["Table of Meritorious Ministers"] in the *Han shu* 16 (*ts'ê* 4).1r10-1v1, which reads: "In the oath of investiture it was said, 'Even if the Huang-ho 黃河 ("Yellow River") [Iv] be like a girdle (帶) (= a narrow stream) and the T'ai-shan 泰山 ("Mount T'ai") be like a whetstone (厲) (= a small stone), let [thy] state (= fief) continue perpetually unto [thy] descendants.'" The commentary on

Year after year, [on] prancing horses, they drew up in "fish-scale array."³⁷⁹

When the feast was finished, the "Jade Tent" (玉帳)³⁸⁰ would pass by the Southern Slope (南坡).³⁸¹

On 27 December 1955 Dr. William HUNG brought to my attention still another poem in which there is a reference, albeit less specific, to the Baljuna covenant. The poem is one of the "Fifteen Palace Songs" (宮詞一十五首) by the Yüan painter K'o Chiu-ssu 柯九思³⁸² (died in 1365), which are found in the *Ts'ao-t'ang ya-chi* 草堂雅集³⁸³ 1 (*ts'e* 1). 1r10-3r4. The poem in question reads as follows (1v2-3):

The Hei-ho 河黑 ("Black River")—the limitless,³⁸⁴
continuous desert—

these words reads as follows (1v1-2): "YING Shao 應劭 (circa 140-206) says, '[The words] 封爵之誓 (*feng-chüeh-chih-shih*) [show that] the dynasty wanted to have the meritorious ministers transmit the fortune of the state (= fief) without end. *Tai* is the girdle of a garment. *Li* is *chih* 砥 ("whetstone"). [That is to say] it is a *li-shih* 厲石 ("whetstone"). When shall the [Huang]-ho ("[Yellow] River") be like the girdle of a garment? When shall the [T'ai]-shan ("Mount [T'ai]") be like a whetstone? It means that as the girdle and the whetstone the state (= fief) still will continue perpetually unto the descendants of later generations.'"

In the commentary on the words 又與功臣剖符作誓 in the *Han shu* 1 (*ts'e* 1), 下, 21r9—words to which I have already referred in note 335 above and which were translated by DUBS, *op. cit.* 1.146: "With his meritorious followers he split tallies and made oaths, . . ."—we read (*ibid.*): "JU Shun 如淳 says, '[This] refers to the oath in the "Kung-ch'en piao" ["Table of Meritorious Ministers"]': "Only if the [Huang]-ho ('[Yellow] River') be like a girdle and the T'ai (太)-shan ('Mount T'ai') be like a whetstone, then the state (= fief) will be extinguished.'"

³⁷⁸ Lit., "difficult to rub."

³⁷⁹ The words 魚麗 (*yü-li*) constitute an allusion to those in the *Tso chuan* (LEGGE 5.44, l. 12) which read: 爲魚麗之陳. The latter, descriptive of a military formation, were translated by LEGGE (5.46, Par. 6): ". . . which [i. e., 'the centre'—F.W.C.] was drawn up in fish-scale array."

³⁸⁰ I. e., the "Imperial Tent."

³⁸¹ I have not succeeded in identifying the locality in question.

³⁸² Cf. "J.J.L.D.," review of William Charles WHITE, *An Album of Chinese Bamboos*, TP 25 (1939-1940) 376-385 (p. 377, n. 3): ". . . K'o Chiu-ssü 柯九思 (*tzü*: Ching-chung 敬仲, died 1365 whose biography *ibid.* [i. e., "*Hsin Yüan-shih*"—F.W.C.] pp. 16a-b, was known for his painting of bamboos. . . ."

³⁸³ This work in 18 *chüan* compiled by Ku Ying 顧瑛 of the Yüan was published in 1935.

³⁸⁴ Lit., "ten thousand *li* 里."

Shih-tsu was deeply mindful of the difficulties [there experienced] in the founding of the empire.³⁸⁵

The railing of several *ch'ih* 尺³⁸⁶ [in height] protects the spring grass;³⁸⁷

And [before] the crimson steps³⁸⁸ [of the audience hall] it is kept for [his] descendants to behold.

In an author's note (1v3) K'o Chiu-ssu remarked:

When Shih-tsu built the palace (大內), he ordered that sedge-grass (莎草) from the desert be transplanted at the crimson steps [of the audience hall] to show [his] descendants lest they forget the steppe.

This poem was quoted, with textual variants and the wrong attribution of authorship, by YEH Tzu-ch'i 葉子奇³⁸⁹ in an entry in his *Ts'ao-mu-tzu* 草木子³⁹⁰ 4 (*ts'e* 4) .5r3-7, which reads:

Emperor Shih-tsu of the Yüan, being mindful of the difficulties experienced by T'ai-tsu in the founding of the empire,³⁹¹ had a clump of grass taken from the place where he (= T'ai-tsu) had lived and set [out] before the crimson steps [of the audience hall] in the palace.³⁹² He called it *shih-chien-ts'ao* 誓儉草 ("the grass whereby one swore to be frugal").³⁹³ It would seem that he wanted to have [his] posterity in later ages learn diligent and frugal moderation.³⁹⁴

As to the several tens of palace songs (宮詞) [composed] by Ta Pu-hua

³⁸⁵ The *locus classicus* of the words 創業 (*ch'uang yeh*) is in the *Meng-tzu*, where we read: 君子創業. Cf. LEGGE, *op. cit.* 2.175. LEGGE (2.175) rendered these words: "A prince lay the foundation of the inheritance, . . ."

³⁸⁶ The length of the *ch'ih* varied, as is known, from period to period. Cf., however, GILES, *op. cit.*, p. 248, no. 1992.

³⁸⁷ For examples of the term 春草 (*ch'un-ts'ao*) in Chinese literature cf. the *P'ei-wen yün-fu* (Commercial Press edition), 2000, 1.

³⁸⁸ See note 346 above.

³⁸⁹ A late Yüan and early Ming scholar. For the translation of another entry in his book cf. Francis Woodman CLEAVES, "*Daruya* and *Gerege*," *HJAS* 16(1953) .237-259 (pp. 250-251).

³⁹⁰ The first edition of this work in four *chüan* appeared in 1378 and the second in 1762. Cf. the *Harvard-Yenching Institute Chinese-English Dictionary Project*, Fascicle 39.0.1: Preliminary Print (Cambridge, 1953), "Bibliography," p. 22. I have used the second edition.

³⁹¹ See note 385 above.

³⁹² See note 346 above.

³⁹³ Or, more literally, "swear-frugality-grass." I.e., "the grass that symbolized a determination to be frugal."

³⁹⁴ By the visible presence of this grass in the midst of the pomp and luxury of the life at Court they would be reminded of the frugal, simple life on the steppe.

達不花³⁹⁵ (Da Buqa) of the *ta-ssu-nung* 大司農³⁹⁶ during the Chih-cheng 至正 period (1341-1368), one of them reads:

“The Mo-ho 墨³⁹⁷ 河 (‘Black River’)—the limitless,
golden³⁹⁸ desert—

Shih-tsu, profoundly mindful of the difficulties [there experienced]
in the founding of the empire,

Would pause to gaze upon³⁹⁹ the green grass⁴⁰⁰ protected
by the railing;

And [before] the crimson steps [of the audience hall] it is
kept for [his] descendants to behold.”

I am also indebted to Dr. William HUNG for bringing to my attention on 22 December 1955 a reference to the Baljuna covenant in the “I-yü” 譯語 [“Translations”]⁴⁰¹ by Min-O-shan-jen 岷峨山人⁴⁰² in *chüan* 161 of the *Chi-lu hui-pien* 紀錄彙編⁴⁰³ by SHEN Chieh-fu 沈節甫.⁴⁰⁴ Under the rubric “Ch’i shan ch’uan” 其山川 (‘Their Mountains and Rivers’) we read 161 (*ts’e* 56). 5r8-9:

The Pan-chu-ni (Baljuni) River 班朱尼河: When T’ai-tsu first took the field (起兵),⁴⁰⁵ he reached this River. The water just then was turbid. He drank it in order to swear in the band, saying, “In the future we should remember that we shared this hardship.”⁴⁰⁶

³⁹⁵ This person, as we know, was not the one who composed the poem.

³⁹⁶ I. e., “Bureau of Agriculture.” Cf., e. g., RATCHNEVSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 138, n. 3.

³⁹⁷ The character 墨 (*mo*) is an obvious error for 黑 (*hei*).

³⁹⁸ Dr. William HUNG informed me on 27 December 1955 that, in his opinion, the reading 金 (*chin*) (‘golden’) is better than the reading 連 (*lien*) (‘continuous’).

³⁹⁹ Lit., “would withdraw [from other occupations] to gaze upon.” With the reading 却望 (*ch’üeh wang*) instead of 數尺 (*shu ch’ih*) (‘several *ch’ih*’) the grammatical construction of the entire line is different.

⁴⁰⁰ I. e., 青草 (*ch’ing ts’ao*) instead of 春草 (*ch’un ts’ao*). See note 387 above.

⁴⁰¹ For this work cf. Paul PELLIER, “Le Hôja et le Sayyid Husain de l’Histoire des Ming,” *TP* 38 (1948).81-292 (pp. 289-290).

⁴⁰² This is a *hao* 號 (‘fancy-name’) signifying “Person of the Min and O Mountains [in Ssu-ch’uan].” For the author’s real name cf. PELLIER, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

⁴⁰³ This work in 216 *chüan* was published in 1617. Cf. Wolfgang FRANKE, “Preliminary Notes on the Important Chinese Literary Sources for the History of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644),” *Chung-kuo wen-hua yen-chiu hui-k’an* 中國文化研究彙刊 (*Bulletin of Chinese Studies*) 7 (1947).107-118 (p. 188, no. 279).

⁴⁰⁴ A *chin-shih* 進士 of the Chia-ching 嘉靖 period (1522-1566) of the Ming dynasty.

⁴⁰⁵ For the *locus classicus* of this expression in the *Tso chuan* cf. LEGGE 5.820, l. 9. It is rendered in his translation (5.821, Par. 5): “I . . . am putting the troops in motion.” Cf. also CLEAVES, “The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 . . .,” p. 43, n. 27.

⁴⁰⁶ The source of this entry must have been but one of many which either are no longer extant or have not yet come to our attention.

There must be still other references to the Baljuna covenant in the Yüan and early Ming literature. If and when they are discovered, they should be published so that whatever testimony they may offer—corroborative or not—can be received in evidence in the final judgment of the historicity of the Baljuna covenant.

In view of the silence of the *Secret History* on the Baljuna covenant, it is not strange that there is no mention of it in the *Altan tobči*⁴⁰⁷ of the end of the Ming period nor in the *Qad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobči*⁴⁰⁸ [*Precious Button of the Origin of the Sovereigns*] by Sayang Sečen (1604-16??). On the other hand, in view of the obviously persistent tradition among the Mongols in China, if not those in Persia, it is hard to believe that the episode went unremembered, if not unchronicled, in Mongolia itself. An echo of it may, indeed, be attested in the *Bolor erike*, where, in a passage cited by Walther HEISSIG on page 54 of his *Bolur Erike* “*Eine Kette aus Bergkristallen*,” *eine Mongolische Chronik der Kienlung-Zeit von Rasipungsuy* (1774/75),⁴⁰⁹ we read in part:

Tegüneče činggis qaγan degüüner kiged tüsimeḍ-tegen ulus irgen-i qubiyaju öggün (öggüürin) . . . dötüger degüü qači-yun-dur ongni-yun (ongni-yud) kistei (kestei) balčutai terigüten ulus . . . öggüged . . .

“Darnach verteilte Činggis Khan Land und Untertanen an Brüder und Würdenträger, . . . gab er . . . , dem vierten Bruder *Qači-yun* die *Ongni-yud*, *Kistei*, *Balčutai* und andere Völker”

In his comments on this text HEISSIG (*op. cit.*, pp. 54-55) observed:

Diese Belehnung der Brüder wird im *NT* nicht berichtet. Es scheint sich hier und im folgenden um eine spätere Version zu handeln, die auf Grund des *NT*, 202 entstanden ist. . . . *Kistei* ist vermutlich ein Verballhornung von *Kesigten*, der Leibgarde Činggis Khans. Cf. *NT*, 224. . . . Über *Ongni-yud* handelte Vladimirtsov, *Mongol'skoe ongni-yud-feodal'nii termin i plemennoe nasvanie*, *DAN* [55] 1930. Unter *Balčutai* vermut Yamamoto, *op. cit.*, p. 315 die Teilnehmer am Schwur vom *Baljuna*.⁵⁸

In note 58 at the bottom of page 55 HEISSIG remarked:

⁴⁰⁷ For this work cf. C. R. BAWDEN, *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči*, Wiesbaden, 1955 [= *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*], pp. x + 205.

⁴⁰⁸ For this work cf. the forthcoming, monumental “Introduction” by the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT to *Scripta Mongolica II*.

⁴⁰⁹ Fu-Jen University, Peiping, 1946 [= *Monumenta Serica, Journal of Oriental Studies of the Catholic University of Peking, Monograph X*].

Für die Schreibung von *Baljuna* cf. P. Pelliot in *T'P.* XXVI, 1929, pp. 376⁹⁸ über E. v. Zach.

As to the observation on *Balčutai* by YAMAMOTO Mamoru 山本守 to which HEISSIG makes reference, it is found in the former's translation of the *Činggis boyda-yin durasqal-un tegübüri* ⁴¹⁰ under the title of "Chingisu-kan tanka-roku no kenkyū" 成吉思汗談話録の研究 in the *Kenkoku daigaku kenkyū'in kenkyū kihō* 建國大學研究院研究期報, I, 1941. ⁴¹¹

I hope that others, especially those of our colleagues who have access to early Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs and those who can utilize the Persian and Arabic sources, will continue the search for additional source material bearing on this question. As for myself, I entertain not the slightest doubt, on the basis of the evidence now available, that Činggis Qan did, indeed, drink the muddy water of the Baljuna River (or Lake Baljuna) with a small band of faithful followers to seal with them the covenant into which they entered in that dark hour of adversity.

⁴¹⁰ I. e., *A Collection of the Conversations of Činggis The Holy One.*

⁴¹¹ Through the kindness of Mr. Takase TAMOTSU, Palo Alto, California, I have received from Professor KOJIMA, Tōkyō University of Foreign Studies, a photostatic reproduction of YAMAMOTO's article in this periodical which was published in Manchuria. In his discussion of *Balčutai* which is in note 9 on page 314 of his article—not page 315—YAMAMOTO does not "conjecture," as Dr. HEISSIG asserts, "the participants in the oath of the Baljuna."